/3/

178 584 614 There are informants who remember the time when there were chuneles, and the younger ones know about it because their fathers have told them. The social conflict brought about by the disappearance of this institution seems to have its most intense point in what concerns marriage. It was the chunel of the clan of a girl to whom the parents of a boy would go to ask for her in marriage. He received gifts and gave his consent in case he thought it advantageous, and, accompanied by the boy and his parents, he went to the house of her parents, to whom he presented the pleas of the young man. No one could oppose the decision of the chunel. An informant adds: "If the woman does not [586] love her husband and leaves him and flees, the man advises the chunel and the chunel eats the woman." She dies if she does not respect the wishes of the oldest man of her clan. Now that there [578] are no chuneles, a boy, with his parents or without them, is accompanied by any member of the clan to which the girl belongs; generally the parents are opposed, the girl is not willing, and the use of force, which serves instead of the traditional fear and reverence, only gives rise to conflicts, bringing irreconcilable hatreds.

614 Formerly the clans of Cancuc were four: Chik, Chejeb, Ijká, and Boj. At present only the first three exist, the members of the Boj clan having been incorporated into the Ijká clan. This fusion of two clans took place a short time before the political revolts to [125] which we have referred. While taking the census of the town, we found marriages between individuals belonging to these two clans, concluded before the fusion. Since that date "the Boj know that they are now Ijká," and clan exogamy has prevented these unions; "If a Boj marries an Ijká now, the two will die," say my informants, "because they are chapomales."

614 539 776 To an inquiry about the reason for the fusion and the manner of accomplishing it, our informants gave the following explanations, which show undeniably the close relationship existing between clan and nagual:

/3 cont./

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Esteban Santis Pin, of the Ijká clan:

Many ants entered the home of the Boj and they asked the Ijká to lend them a home, and they joined there, becoming like chaponales /sic/ to each other since then. The ants did not enter the homes of the "Christian" (people), but the home of the lab; "the people did not talk it over, only the lab talked it over."

/4/ Mateo López Chij, of the Chik clan:

Lightning hit the home of the Boj "because it is very high on the hill." "The lab left" and they took refuge in the home of the Ijká. The members of the clans know this because it is in the home of the lab where "the chuleles (souls) are brought up." Before there were four homes and now there are three, because since that day the Boj and the Ijká live together. The homes are caves.

Diego Domínguez Tzul, of the Ijká clan:

The Boj were ill and the Ijká went to help them and to cure them. The Boj said: "It is good that we join the Ijká." It was the lab that spoke, not the Christians; "but the lab speak the same as people do, that is why they drank, talked, and gathered together." The people know this because those of them who have lab told them. The Boj were those who wanted the union with the Ijká, "and they said that when the lab became drunk."

Miguel Ordóñez, of the Chik clan:

"The lab of the Boj talked and drank with the lab of the Ijká, and presently they joined. Perhaps someone with a lab dreamed about this and then told it to his companions."

/4 cont./

614 Juan Jiménez Chan, of the Ijká clan:
539 776 It was arranged in the times of the old chuneles, when the lab talked it over, there where they live. The chuneles later heard about it through their lab, and they were in agreement.

Tomás Vásquez Coreta, of the Chik clan:
Ants went into the home of the Boj, and the latter went to the home of the Ijká, where they were very well received, and "all are happy." Only the lab spoke, but the chuneles knew and told it to their chapomales.

Domingo López Uax, of the Boj clan; now of the Ijká:
The lab of the Boj and of the Ijká spoke and all was arranged. "Now they are chapomales and cannot marry."

614 551 177 The surnames in Cancuc determine the clan to which an individual belongs. There are two of them: a native one which is preceded by a Spanish one (except in various exceptional cases in which there is only a Spanish surname). All the Cancuqueros know their native surname, but most of them do not know the Spanish surname with which it is combined. Upon the uttering of a native surname, all know to which clan it belongs, which does not happen with the Spanish one, because these can be placed before native surnames belonging to one, two, or three clans. Therefore we can say that there is exogamy of the native surname, but not /5/ of the Spanish one, which does not seem to have any function with respect to the clans.

551 614 In the lists of surnames that we were able to obtain and which in no way pretend to be exhaustive, we find 20 Spanish surnames and 92 native surnames. These last are distributed among the four clans in the following way: 33 of the Chik clan, 31 of the Chejeb, 21 of the Ijká, and 7 of the Boj (now incorporated into the Ijká clan).

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P.464-A] Teklum

682 to who did it. The consultations with curers
683 prior to the death of the supposed victims of a
627 witch will be introduced as evidence. (Some degree of consensus may have been built up beforehand, in witch-killings, by the public broadcast of accusations noted above.[5]) The focus of the discussion is not so much on who killed the dead man, but whether he was indeed a witch. This kind of mock trial occurs after every funeral, since it must be decided [153] who caused the sickness. Emotions run very [152] high as the liquor is passed around, and accusa- [273] tions are made, sometimes against those present. It was after a funeral that one man killed his son (not included in Table 1) for accusing him of having caused the death of the son's child, who was being buried.

682 In the weeks following a homicide, it is dis-
[521] cussed at all the drinking sessions in the homes or in the town hall. Eventually an authoritative version begins to emerge. Those who have defended the victim then keep silent, and the
682 affair "rests in peace." Avenging the death of a
683 man judged to have been a witch, so far as I
[627] know, has never been done. In one case (no. 36, Table 1) the widow of a man killed as a witch vigorously denied the legitimacy of the act and built up a case against the killer. She spread word that it was without doubt the dead man's son by a prior marriage. When the son was killed shortly after (case 37, Table 1), everyone assumed that he had been killed by the widow's son by *her* prior marriage. However, the authoritative version concerning the second killing was that it was an accident: he had been mistaken for his brother, whom the killer was after because of rivalry over a girl.

682 *Rules for Surviving*
183

The patterning of the selection of victims and the circumstances of homicide provide the basis for formulating a set of rules that can
682 ensure survival. The long-range rules of sur-
• 539 vival, in the words of an elder at the occasion of
183 the death of his godchild, are:

lekon kak'o ta kwenta me?tal
I pay respect to my elders.

hun ku kihtz'in kalnilan
[601] I greet my younger brothers and my children (classificatory extension of kinship terms).

spisil kak' ta kwenta
To all I give respect.

ha? hil lekotik. Ma taltik milal ma talik tamal

3:Nash E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P. 464-B] Teklum

682
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783 Thus I fare well. I have not been killed, nor have I been sick.

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828 A good man is of one heart, and he shows it by his humility, *ben k'un yo'tan* or "very soft heart." He can drink with friends on either side of the dual division of the town, and he is called upon in many household fiestas to greet the guests of the house-owner.

But the man who is "very strong of heart," *ben koyol yo'tan*, who "fails to take people into account," *ma i'awa ta kwenta*, who "abuses people," *me ya wut*, has means of survival despite the many threats to his life. He surrounds himself with a circle of *compadres*, or godparents; he especially picks out curers, both to mitigate the use of their power against him, and for them to serve as intermediaries if he should have enemies with animal spirits. When a threat becomes imminent, he may stay within his house or limit his range of activities to a very circumscribed area, always taking a weapon when he does go out. He will usually try to limit his drinking, or give it up entirely. These short-range rules of avoidance are clearly indicated by the circumstances in which killings occur: in the hills or at night, when the victim is under the influence of liquor.

[608]
[756]
[273]

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[578] These 37 cases of homicide reveal a regularity in the kinds of people and situations involved. The victims are most often men who assert power, principally curers, or men who violate standards of behavior by abusiveness or theft. Their killers are often linked to them by kinship or neighborhood, the bonds in which tensions are greatest. The regularity of time and place of homicide suggests the precautions that can be taken to avoid being killed if one has an enemy. The general failure of the community social-control agents to bring negative sanctions against a killer indicates that homicide is an accepted solution for interpersonal conflict. The structural setting that validates this behavior is discussed below.

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II. STRUCTURAL CHANGE AND SOCIAL CONTROL

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626 Case analysis, useful for discerning certain patterns, is inadequate for understanding the interrelationships among a variety of social changes in the community. An increasing rate of homicide of this magnitude indicates fundamental changes in the social matrix in which individual decisions are made: it suggests not

3:Naah E-5 (1964-1965)1967
NV9 Tzeltal NV9
[P. 466-B] Teklum

626 178 756 orders the curers to gather together. The curers look for the man who has "brought the heat." And then they kill him. Formerly it was not so.

The statement points to two interacting features of change within the curing profession: (1) the loss of leadership and of control over entry into the profession and (2) the loss of faith in the guardianship function of the curers. The effect of these changes has been to reduce security and the maintenance of social control.

756 178 [621] Formerly the recognized leader of the curers in each section of the dual division legitimized entry of new curers and expelled those who abused their power. When these curers died, there was no one of sufficient power to replace them. In listing curers who are active today, there is no agreement as to who the leading curers are or even as to whether there are leaders.

756 Loss of leadership in the curing profession has led to competition among the curers. There is discussion such as the following concerning who is the strongest:

> When X (a former curer, killed as a witch) was alive, he was land-control officer. When we were half drunk one day, the president asked him: "Tell me who is the strongest of all you who know curing." X replied, "Ah, you want to hear. There is no one who is very strong, only the dead Mamal K and myself." The president said, "But Mam D is good." X said, "Less so. I know because one time we proved it, at a meeting of the curers. I arrived as a sheep, and 'took out' [literal translation of *Hok'*] one black dog. He took out a sheep and a pig and ordered them to run. And I saw that they could not run. After my animals ran a little with his, mine arrived first. It is thus that I saw his were less strong."

[541] The present competition among the curers to assert their power by telling such stories or by displaying fearlessness in the bullfights held in community fiestas is symptomatic of the disruption caused by the breakdown in the hierarchy of the profession. When curing was a controlled profession, abusive conduct by the curers was minimized, but the new curers are reputed to use their power for their own gain. The following story is typical:

756 539 J, born in Tetikil, went to live in hot country. A friend invited him to drink. J, who was reputed to be a curer, said to his friend when they were half drunk, "Do you want to 'take out' a girl?" His friend said, "No, how can you?" "*Pendejo!*" J replied, "I can because I have an animal

[swayobel]." "What one?" asked his friend. "You won't be afraid?" asked J. And then he put his shirt and hat on the floor, spoke three words (my friend didn't say what), and raised his hat and shirt, and a horse appeared. He did this again and a bull appeared. He was a great *?ak'lamal* [witch]. He stole a great deal. He was killed by five bullets.

Such stories of curers "who walk on both sides" (*?be?en ta ta mehl*) are favorites in the drinking sessions of Teklum. The power of curers inspires fear, so much so that some of the town presidents have been afraid of putting them in prison.

The open competition between curers serves to undermine the faith of the people in their guardianship function. This function was believed to have been acquired by the leaders from the *me?tiktatik*, the ancestors, who were said to live in a cave in a hill near the town, from which came the progenitors of the present townspeople. To carry out this guardianship function, the animal spirits of the two leading curers roamed the streets at night, when the evil spirits were out, each one remaining within the limits of his own side of the dual division. In this role, the two major curers were called the *me?iltatiletik*, a term derived from the one referring to the ancestors.

The loss of faith in the guardianship function of the curers was coincident with the loss of belief in the presence of the me?tiktatik. Some deny that the me?tiktatik live in the cave anymore, and others say they just appear on the day of their fiesta, the Day of the Cross in the Catholic calendar. This fiesta formerly was an important event in establishing the guardian power of the leader curers, since they were the only ones who dared enter the cave and talk to the ancestors. But this fear and this belief have gone. In 1960 one young man of the pueblo entered the cave on the day of the fiesta, when the curers were "deceiving the people" in claiming that they were talking to the ancestors; the fact that he dared enter the cave indicates an ambient distrust (in part resulting from verbal attacks by the priest, who at that time was gaining more power in the town). By now, on the Day of the Cross the church and civil officials, the women prayermakers, and an assistant of the priest, the *fiscal*, go to the cave, but the curers are no longer present, even as bystanders. The curers have tried to buttress belief in the guardianship of the ancestors by claiming that a nephew of the ancestors is now in residence in

241 paraje perform before the altar of the
782 church in the ceremonial center. All prayers
796 are said in Tzeltal; some are Christian in
[778] origin, others entirely pagan. This prayer
[177] I recorded in 1944:

241
796 Here we come to bring you your food, to
782 light your candles, to play the harp, to play the
539 guitar. Here we come to perform your fiesta,
[534] so you may be happy, so you will not abandon us.

We have already planted the milpas; the seed is already in the soil. Father, do not forsake us; let the rains come properly; let them not be abundant nor deficient. Let there be a little sunshine and a few clouds. Let the soil be happy.

Father, let no hail come; let no wind come; let no locust come; let no harmful animals come; let no robbers come, lest they steal from us and leave us in poverty.

Father, let the year come well; let the corn turn out well; let the beans turn out well. Let there be no sickness; let there be no sorrow. Father, the mouthful has already entered; the word had already entered.

The word "mouthful" refers to all the gifts, "word" to all the prayer.

796 A similar ceremony is the *mukul mixa*
[621] ('great Mass'), organized by members of
[776] each calpul. Each calpul has its own patron
[622] saint and its own chiefs. For this ceremony
[534] many more people gather, for representatives and musicians (flute, drum, harp, and guitar) come from all places. The candles offered as "mouthfuls" are greater in number and size.

778 Household ceremonies follow as the head
78 of the household, in private, prepares the small home altar, where the cross which
[834] protects the home is always found. He adorns it with *juncia* and five candles; he says appropriate prayers at 6 o'clock in the morning or at midday, as he observes fasting and sexual abstinence. These family prayers may be repeated occasionally, depending on the condition of the milpa.

241 At the beginning of the month called
782 [P. 202-A]

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

The performance continued until late that night and began again the next morning. Later in the day the banners were carried to the chapel in procession, with music, and deposited by the altar. The *caporales* led in prayer. The fiesta went on again in the evening.

Christian forms are applied to or mixed with non-Christian rites and ideas to some extent, a confusion resembling the appeal to both saints and native gods in prayer among tribes of Guatemala* and British Honduras.† Much of Christianity is adapted to conform to old, fundamental native concepts.

In the church at Bachajon Village there are fourteen saints beside the tribal patron, St. Jerome. These others each have a special care, as the cornfield, hunting, the rivers, etc., and are prayed to for help in their particular provinces. They are given gifts of cloth, usually red or blue, which is draped about them. Many of them duplicate the functions of non-Christian "guardians," to be described below.

In this connection it may be mentioned that the Zotzil-speaking Indians of Huistan are accustomed to beat their saint (St. Martin) when they have a bad year, and to caress him and anoint him with oil when things go well. We were told that he had lost his nose and both ears due to this practice.

One prayer was dictated to us by Señor Cruz at Toniná, the full text of which is given in Appendix VI, Text I. It is primarily meant for a poor man when making his offering in the cornfield, a use which is indicated by the phrase "health of the earth," but it may also be used in church. The phrase "blood of my flesh" suggests a reminiscence of the ancient Maya offerings of blood from the ear, tongue, etc. A free translation is given here.

PRAYER OF A POOR MAN WHO HAS NOT MUCH TO OFFER.

"Do Thou accept, in the name of our protector God of the blessed land, what I have gained, and what I have not gained. Do Thou forgive, in the name of our protector God of the blessed land, blood of our flesh; our hearts are open, our lips are open. Give health of the earth; protect thy son kneeling here."

Of primary interest to us were the survivals of the old worship. At the time of the Conquest the Spaniards put forth their utmost efforts to suppress the native religion, and the process has gone on

*Sapper, 1925.
†Gann, 1918.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

or less inebriated, not from greediness, but because it is a ceremonial necessity for him to be in that condition when dealing with the sacred things. Drunkness was a requisite of certain functions among the old Maya, and with the present-day Lacandones,* the Chontal shamans similarly will not perform unless drunk.

Sebastiano Guzman, a Bachajon at El Encanto, a specialist on snake-bite cases, would not treat a friend for snake-bite, although he carried him on his back for two hours to get treatment from us, because the friend could not buy him any rum. It probably would be considered very dangerous to deal with the supernatural healing powers when sober.

When a group of Indians are drinking at any time, the shamans, as soon as they are drunk, go off together to one side and proceed to exchange prayers and prescriptions which they will not discuss when sober. They make a curious spectacle thus; a group of elderly men sitting in a corner passing a bottle about, plainly drunk, and gravely intoning prayers that are obviously to all of them matters of weighty importance.

Of their prayers two, or parts of two, were obtained. The first was copied by a Ladino secretary at El Encanto from the recital of an intoxicated shaman. The shaman became a general object of ridicule to all his people, lay or initiate, for having let out one of his secrets to an outsider. The second was recited by Señor Aguilar of El Encanto, who had overheard it. No one was able to give us any but the most fragmentary and unsatisfactory translations for these prayers; undoubtedly the text is in part archaic, and may contain some gibberish. The manner in which they were acquired, moreover, prevents accurate transcription. They are given here, rather than with the Tzeltal Texts in Appendix V, because of this failure to translate them, and their primarily ethnological value.

I.

hun ahau ilic tunic baken pusti-lum tal kowit' tal keke manic tunic inic kilan kun in ahau keke tunic hun tsak-unti-bak tsak-unti-tci.

Hun Ahau, the Guardian of the Mountains, has been discussed already. *ilic* was said to mean "drove out the sickness," and *tunic*, "placed the sickness." *pusti-lum* contains the stem *lum*, "earth." *tal* may be the stem of the verb *tal-el*, "to come." *kilan* is a lizard used in medicine. *keke tunic* was explained as meaning that the sickness was placed by means of *ajo* fruit. *tsak-unti* is remarkably similar to the Lacandone *tsakuntik*, "to redden," occurring in a

*Tozzer, 1907.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

539 Lacandone prayer in Tozzer's "Comparative Study of the Maya and Lacandones," page 169. As *tsax*, which a Ladino would probably give as *tsak*, means "red" in Tzeltal, the two words may be taken to be the same. *bak* means "bone," and *tci* means "blood." Many of these translations are doubtful, and all of them together do not suffice to explain the text.

II.

hun ahau bitskilim gravilan yokivin-wits yevakinok . . .

This also begins with Hun Ahau. *wits* means "hill." Beyond that no translation could be obtained.

24 The whole material on medicine and shamans is very slight and unsatisfactory. Indeed it is doubtful whether anything could be learned save after a long stay and much patient work, so secretive are the Indians on this subject, and so suspicious of inquiries. What we have is presented here in the hope that it may prove useful for comparative purposes, and offer suggestions to any worker going into this field.

796 178 According to Nuñez de la Vega, the old calendar was still current in his time. Starr* quotes a Zotzil Calendar of eighteen months, and Pineda* gives a Tzeltal calendar of both months and days. We asked in the different villages what names were given 124 to the days, and were told always the Spanish names, as also for 796 the months. This may well have been from unwillingness to impart 177 ceremonial information, but consistent replies, plus the statement of 178 various Ladinos who knew the Indians well, incline me to believe that if the old calendar is known at all, it is known only to a very few of the most learned shamans. Feasts, as far as could be made out, are controlled entirely by the cycle of Christian saint's days. However, the Maya year might well have been by now adjusted to the Gregorian, and a time-count actually kept in the old style be stated for public purposes in the terms of the new. Pineda's calendar is adapted from one published by his father† some forty years earlier, but he speaks of it as being still current.

114 178 796 Seler also doubts the modernity of Pineda's calendar. In his article "Der Festkalender der Tzeltal und der Maya von Yucatan" (1898), he brings together various interesting statements. Of them, one may be applied to this survey. Emeterio Pineda he quotes as saying that the sixth month, Olalte, is the time of planting. This would be in April of our year, or the end of April and early May,

*Starr, 1903—Pineda, Vicente, 1888.
†Pineda, Emeterio, 1845.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

APPENDIX VI

TZELTAL TEXTS

Given by SEÑOR AUREO CRUZ, of Toniná

TEXT I

782
539

PRAYER OF POOR MAN, WHEN MAKING OFFERINGS IN CHURCH OR IN THE MILPA

(See The Northern Tzeltal, Chap.)

Pas-a	*resib-il*	*yun**	*k-aHwal-tik*
Do thou	accept (Sp. recibir)	in the name of	our guardian of us

Dios		*tcul-ba-lum-milal*†	*bin*	*la-ta*‡	*y*
God	(of)	blessed the world	that which	found	and

bin	*ma-va-la-ta.*	*pas-a*	perdon	*yun*
that which	not was found.	do thou	forgive	in the name of

k-aHwal-tik	Dios		*tcul-ba-lum-milal*	*teitc'*
our guardian of us	God	(of)	blessed the world	blood

bak'-et-al	*ham-al*	*k'-otan-tik*	*ham-al*	*ti'-tik*
of (?) bones the	open	our hearts of us	open	mouths of us

aw-on	*te-lum-al*	*koltai-ya*	*kaHwal*
give me	health of the earth	free it (protect?)	kneeling (?)

ka-nitcan.
thy son.

TEXT II

539

TZELTAL CONVERSATION

hoon	*lok'-on*	*tax*		*lum-al*	*v-oon*	*ta'*
I	went out I	from	(my)	land the	went I	to

yan	*lum-etik*§	*ta'*	*yil-el*‖	*yan*	*lugarz-etik*
other	lands	to	see	other	places

y	*lak-il*‖	*s-na*	*es-etik*	*baiyel*
and	look at	their (?) houses	Old Ones ("los antiguos")	plenty

[192]
[193]

*This was originally given *sok*, "with," but one of the Indian girls at El Real corrected it to *yun*.
†The stem is *lum*, "earth." No definite translation was found for *-bo-* or *-milal*.
‡The root is *ta*, "come."
§*-etik*, or *-tik*, is the emphatic plural, as well as forming, with the first personal pronoun present or implied, the inclusive plural.
‖*-el* is the generalizing suffix, here it represents the abstract idea of, the action, and corresponds to our infinitive.

5: Blom & LaFarge A,E-4,5 (1925) 1927 NV9 Tzeltal NV9

• 539

santo	*ton-etik*		*triwab-il**	*laH-lokes*			
holy	stones (carved monuments)		written	it looked			
te†-bit-il	*aix*		*te-sit*	*y*	*paca-hon*		
it saw (?)	there are		the faces	and	enjoyed I (myself)		
ta-lek	*lax*	*mulan*	*aix*	*s-na*	*puro*	*ton*	
well	they	pleased	there are	houses	pure	stone	
ta-sba	*wits*	*lax*	*kaltai-tik-on*			*hil-el*	
on top	mound(s)	them	cleared plural we			(we) left (them)	
tsoowōl	Christianos		*yackoi*	*tai*	*yil-el*	*tuxbil*	
many	Mexicans		came	*to*	see	pretty	
hil	*li*	*ya*	*kikitai*	*li.*			
(it) remained	here	I (?)	left	here.			

*tsibon-vel, "to write."
†May be omitted.

[pp. 505–522 not processed]

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

273 887 621 Old men often give up drinking except when, as office holders, they are obligated to participate in drinking performances. Changes in drinking patterns during the life cycle 273 539 are discussed by Felix Perez as follows:

HTATIK TA HNA *AMETO LEK SYA*BE C'IN TRAWO, HO*TIK X*ATEHOTIK *A MATO HNA*TIK YUC'EL *A C'IN TRAWI.

My father drank aguardiente a lot. We worked, we didn't know how to drink aguardiente.

*EHK STUKEL KOM TA YUC'EL Z'IN *EHK C'IN TRAWI.

Then he himself stopped drinking trago.

*ATEHON HPAS PUERSA NAME TALE MATO KUC'LEK *EHK *A C'IN TRAWI.

I worked, I made an effort for several years. I didn't drink much trago.

YUN Z'IN TE HLIHK HZAK MANYA Z'IN *EHKE, KUC' PERO YUN LA KILIX TEK TE *AY TU*Y KUN Z'IN *EHKE.

Then the madness began to get hold of me, and I drank, but it was because I saw that I had something of my own.

Composition of drinking groups

273* 571 Almost without exception, men drink in groups rather than alone. The importance of companions in the development of a 273* 539 571 drinking situation is suggested by Sabino Hernandez' description of one such situation:

TAL Z'IN *IL *ABANKIL, STAT CIKO, BETO Z'INI.

In came your elder brother, the father of Francisco, Alberto.

HUL SK'AN HUN KWARTA XC'IN YA*AL.

He came to ask for a cuarto of aguardiente.

273*
• 539
571

HA* Z'INABI; *OC KUC' SOK, Z'INABI.

Then I entered into drinking with him.

LAH Z'IN TE HUN KWARTA Z'IN HC'IN-KA*ALTIK Z'INE.

We finished a cuarto of aguardiente.

HK'AN HUN XAN KWARTA KU*N *EHUK.

I ordered another cuarto for my part.

KUC' SOK Z'INABI.

I drank this with him.

KON SOK Z'INABI YUKUBEL XAN, TAL XAN YAN WINIKETIK.

With that the drunk began, other men came.

LIHK HZOB HBAHTIK XAN...

We began to gather together again . . .

MUK'UBIX LO*L *ABI.

(The drinking situation) began to come out bigger.

Solitary drinking is rare. Speaking of one Antonio who has come repeatedly to his friend's house, already drunk, and has finally gone off alone, Carmen Espinoza laughs:

*E MA*Y SHOY XC'IN-TUKEL, HE-HE-HE-HE-!

And he doesn't have a companion, he's all by himself! Ha, ha, ha.

273*
571
[124]

The most frequent response to the question, "How do you begin to drink?" was "when someone invites me." The invitation may come from brothers, compadres, "friends" or "companions" (these classes, as I have noted, tend to intersect in the same

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9 Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

273* 562 885 Participation in drinking cycles[34] is restricted to adult males, and in fact participation signals that such persons are indeed adult males. These are some of the things that participation in drinking cycles "means."

273* Types of drinking cycles

Particular instances of the drinking cycle differ in the degree of "formality" of their organization.

Ceremonial drinking

The full expression of a ceremonial drinking cycle has a number of performance correlates which permit its identification. While it is generally true that ceremonial drinking, in contrast to "informal" drinking, is specifically initiated as a part of one of the rituals just mentioned, its most crucial, i.e., unambiguous characteristic is a formal speech which a senior male of the sponsoring group makes to the receiving group. This speech is responded to with equal formality by a senior male of the receiving group. There are several examples in text of this particular interchange between the sponsor and the receiver. An example of one of these, as reported by Lorenzo Mendez, is given below.

273* 539 *E TYOS KUMPRE, *AK'A LAH PERTON, BA* LA HZO*BEX TALEL, BA* LA HYOMEX TALEL HZ'INUK, H*A K'UK, TA STI*IL HME*BAL HWOKOL. BWENO, SOYOK KALTIK HNIC'ANTIK.

Ay, dios, compadre, excuse me. I have brought you here, gathered you here for a moment, for a little while, at the door of my poor house, with my children and grandchildren.

273* 539 TUTA *AY TUT'A LA HTABE TYOS SOYOK KAL HNIC'ANTIK TA C'UL BALAMILAL, MA LA XU* KUC' HTUKEL.

What I have, what I have obtained with God's help, along with my children, in this world, I cannot take it myself.

MA XU* HTUNTES HTUKEL, *AY LAH HME*, *AY LA HTAT, SOK HKUMPAGRE TA BA* ZOBOLOTIK YOMOLTIK, KIK'EX TAL HZ'INUK H*AK'UK.

I cannot serve myself alone. I have my mother, my father, my compadre. Here they are together, I have called them together for a moment, for a little while.

HBAL HMAY, HBAL SIGARRO, ME XYAL, ME MA XYAL TA *AWO*TANIK, TU YIPAL LA HTABE TYOS TA HME*BAL HWOKOL.

Some tobacco, a cigarette, let it go down or not go down in their hearts, that which I have accumulated with God's help, here in my poor house.

HA* YU*UN TY YIPAL LAH KIK'AT HZ'INUK H*AK'UK, KAHWAL TAT ME*, HKUMPAGRE PUES *AK'A PERTON KUMPAGRE, ME XYAL, MA XYAL TA *AWO*TAN HBAL HMAYTIK, HBAL SIGARROTIK KUMPAGRE.

For this reason I have invited you here for a moment, a little while, respected comadre and compadre, excuse me, let us see if it goes down or does not go down in your heart, our tobacco, our cigarette, compadre.

The response to this formal speech is made by one of the elder guests and goes as follows:

E TYOS KUMPAGRE, BA LAH ME LAH *AWIC', BA* LAH ME TAL *AWU*UN.

Ah, compadre, where did you get the wealth? Where did you bring it from?

MA*YUK TUT'A HK'ANTIK, MA*Y TU'TA HLOK'ESTIK, LA *AWIK'OTIK TALEL, BA* LA *AZO*BOTIK TALEL, HOKOL AWALTIK.

We aren't asking for anything, we don't want to take anything from you. You invited us, you brought us together. Thank you very much.

273* [539]

MA* ATUKELUK LA *AWAK' TA *AWO*TAN, MA* *ATUKELUK LA *AWAK' TA *AWAHC' ALEL, LA *ANA* BA*Y AME*, LA *ANA* BA*Y ATAT, KUMPAGRE, HOKOL AWALTIK, KUMPAGRE, KALEBON XC'IN WINKLEL.

You didn't use your wealth by yourself, you didn't consume it by yourself. You remembered your mother, your father, your compadre. Thank you, compadre. Find someone to pour the drinks.

This exchange initiates the ceremonial drinking sequence. (The sequence is composed of a series of acts; a set of drinking sequences constitutes a drinking cycle.) Upon the termination of the speeches, the owner of the aguardiente asks a junior male to take a proffered liter bottle of aguardiente and a shot glass and offer a drink to each of the men present.

The server must initiate the act of drinking with every other male in the group. Whatever the quantity of aguardiente in the liter bottle, it must be equally distributed among all those present including himself. The drink server must estimate the amount of aguardiente in the bottle and fill the shot glass accordingly. The relative order of initiating the drinking act with the several persons present must proceed from persons of greater rank to persons of lesser rank. As has been suggested in the role inventory, there is a near-perfect correlation between age and rank in Aguacatenango. Hence, the oldest male present is served first and the youngest male present is served next to last, the drink pourer himself being served last. Since the drink server is a junior male, his relative position of

273* 554

273* 574 all persons drinking receive the same known amount, as measured by the shot glass; since each liter is equally divided, the host may stop serving at any time knowing that all have shared equal amounts. In informal drinking, in contrast, equal distribution of the aguardiente is only approximated by passing the bottle to each in turn. Precision in distribution is perhaps of less concern in informal drinking because there is no single host; each man in turn contributes his own bottle to be shared by the group. Mariano tells how he and his friends shared the expense of a drinking cycle as follows:

• [539] M. TAL Z'IN *EHK HOYTIK I, K'EHEL BA YUC'IK *EHUK, TE XBOTIK *A, XU* KU*NTIK *EHUK....

Then some other companions came, we went to drink over there, we went to continue over there also. . . .

TUME HA*T NAX K'AN AWAK'IK XCION, SK'AHK' KO*TANTIK *EHK HC'IN TOHOLTIK I.

"It's not right for you alone to give [aguardiente]," I told them. "Now we will buy some with our money."

TENEX K'OT YAK'IK *OLIL HUHUTUL Z'IN *A PAHAL LA YAK'IK STUBI.

Then and there they began to give a half-liter each, afterward all gave equally.

273* The informal drinking cycle is likely to be initiated by same-sex, same-age peers who consider themselves to be friends. In contrast to the ceremonial drinking sequence, in which persons of various ages and role relations always take part, the informal drinking sequence places little emphasis on the individual's rank

273* refuse a drink in a setting in which men are drinking, and since men who are drinking actively seek companions all over town, the only really satisfactory strategy for those who choose not to drink on a succeeding day is to get out of town. (One of Simmons' informants in Lunahuaná reports that there also, "if a man does not wish to drink, he has to go away from the place where the drinking is taking place and must avoid places where men are drinking." Simmons 1962, p. 42.) In the text just cited above, Juan Hernandez has avoided his friend by going into the hills to cut poles for his garden. His wife, Carmen, 273* 539 tells about it:

ME K'AN KUXUK YUN NAX LI*YIX BALAWETEL AMETO.

"You won't sober up wallowing around here."

... LE TE*EL C'UNTE TONC MA*K XWEHT BA XBAT.

"Go look for poles for the chayote, since you don't know where to go."

*AYIL HICWAN, XCI.

"Maybe it's better that way," he said.

*AYIL BAHKON HLEH TAL C'IN HYALELUK HKUHSES TAL HBA*A, XCI.

"It's better that I go and take a trip to sober up," he said.

Juan himself comments as follows:

BETIL XYAL HAYUN MA*BA LA HSOLES LEK *EHUK.

One goes into debt, for that reason also one doesn't overdo.

273*
• 539 MA* LIK *AY *EHK HKUMPRE STAT PEPRI, HA*YUN MA*C'A K'AN HMON BA SOK.

Also, my compadre, Pedro's father, wasn't here, so there wasn't anyone to join me.

HKUMPRE STAT PEYRO WOL I, BAHT TA *A*TEL EHK NUN TA BA*T TANKE, SOK SYAKBEL BAHT HAL HKUMPRE ABI.

My compadre, Pedro's father, Gregorio, went to work down there by the tank, he went with his hangover, that compadre of mine.

273* I have seen men leaving the community on fiesta days so as not to become involved in drinking. The following text fragment from Felix Perez is an example: (Felix went to San Cristóbal on the day of the fiesta in order not to be in his house when companions came by to offer him drinks. He makes the point that he is a compulsive drinker, compulsive in the sense that once he starts drinking he cannot stop on the following day but continues for as long as a week. Thus all the bad aspects of drinking are magnified for a person such as himself. While he drinks more infrequently than most individuals, when he drinks he drinks longer than others.)

273*
539 YAN HO*NEH HA* NAX TAL HC'AY KOK YU*N K'IN YA*YEL I,

I only came to entertain myself because of the fiesta.

HA* XI* *EHK TRAWO *EHK I, HA* MA HK'AN *EHK TE ... LIHK YAKUBOKON *EHK TEY *A I.

I'm afraid of the aguardiente, I don't want to get drunk.

YU*N *IP HTEN BAH TA BETIL, MA* LO*L BETIL STENON *EHK TEME LIKH KUC' E.

273* I would go deeply into debt, it's a heavy debt I carry when
• 539 I begin to drink.

TOH *AY STUK YU*N HNA*TIK. HUN K'AHAL, CE* K'AHAL E.

It would be all right if I could drink one day, two days.

PE *ILI TONC XBAHT TA MUK' KUNTIK HONA, YIC'O HUN SEMNA, YIC'O HO*E K'AHAL, WAXBE* K'AHAL.

But for me it always gets to be a big thing, it lasts a week, five days, six days.

E BA TO K'AN TAK'IN, SIEMPRE XLAH KUNTIK *EHK TAK'IN I.

Where is the money coming from? Our money always runs out.

273* In order not to become involved in drinking, men pursue activities in terms of the necessity of which they lament inability to have taken part in the fiesta. "One of my cattle has been missing for two weeks--and I had to spend all that day and the following day searching for her." "The dogs have been eating elotes in my field in the Paradise section, and I spent the day laying poison and watching the field," etc. The observation of such behavior as this provides a good example of the fact that not all people in Aguacatenango look forward to being "happy" on any given fiesta day, and in turn those people who are being "happy" feel some compulsion to require their fellows to be "happy" with them.

The alternative strategy for avoiding drinking performances is to take the "cure." This consists of taking a medicine so strong that should the taker thereafter drink aguardiente, he

273* is sure to die. One then may refuse a drink, saying, "I have taken the cure and I surely will die." Furthermore, taking the cure is supposed to dispose of one's desire to drink. The cured 273* drinker should find aguardiente repulsive. Candelario Hernandez • 539 and Mariano Juarez discuss such a "cure" in the following text fragment:

M. YUN WAN LA *AWUC'BE XPOXIL.

Perhaps you took the medicine?

C. LAH NIX KA*BE TE*K *A, PERE MA HNA*TIK ME XU*YUN T*K HAL *EHUK.

I took a little, but I don't know how long I will be able to stand not taking a drink.

M. PERE ME M*K SK'AN TUT'IL *ORA *ILI, MA*K WAN....

But maybe now you won't want it, since now you won't. . . .

C. MA SK'AN BA KUBUL *UC'AN ... LA HAIE YUN YA KUUNTIK TE*K C'IN HNUX E, MASK'AN.

Right now I don't feel like it when they invite me to drink, and then if I drink a little I don't like its taste.

HA* *ORA SK'AN XC'I HC'UHTIK YU*UN *ORA XTI*WAN TA HC'UHTIK.

Right away my stomach begins to hurt, right away my stomach begins to swell.

M. PE YUN HA* WAN XPOXIL ABI.

Well, maybe it's the medicine all right.

C. HAYUN HIC MA* BA KA*BE Z'IN, LA YAK'IK LEK PERSA HONC STUK MAC'A YUC' i.

For this reason I don't drink. A lot of the drinkers are taking the medicine.

273*
• 539 HAL XTU*L KUC'OHTIK MAMAL POX I, *E HZ'IN NAX TEME HMIL HBAHTIK *A E.

When we have taken the medicine, we could easily kill ourselves.

M. YAL TASTAT CUS NAX I, *AY YUC'OBE XPOXIL *EHK I.

The father of Jesusa has just taken the medicine.

C. LA TU*L WAN STOHOL *EHK *ILE.

How much did it cost him?

M. PERE TUN TUT'IP PE HUN TA HTAB HAL YA YAL NAX I.

How much? I think twenty pesos was what he said a while ago.

C. YUC'OH TO.

He's still drinking.

M. C'IN HUN K'IN HONC HATE LA HZ'IK E....

He only lasted through one fiesta sober.

*E YUN YA SK'ANIX HAL KO*TAN I, PE XCI.

"My heart is still begging for aguardiente," he said.

ZAM YA XKO, MA* BA TUTA SPAS HNUXUK XCI TAK.

"It goes down well, it doesn't hurt me at all," he said.

YU*NEN MAHAK *EHK XPOXIL I.

Maybe it isn't the medicine.

C. BA* LA SMAN WAN.

Where did he buy it?

M. *ILI XINLAN TA MUK'UL *AKIL LA XCON PE XCI.

"It was a ladina from Pinola who sold it to me," he said.

273* C. HA* HAL ME*L HLO*LIWANEH XINAN HAL YA X BEN LI* I.
539

That's that lying ladina who comes up here.

M. *E *AWA* MA* BA TUTA SPAS HNUKUK.

And he says that it didn't help him at all.

C. *E TEY *A YUN SZ'IHK TE*K YUN C'IN HUNUK HA*WIL *A E, *IL C'IN CE* OXE*K'AHAL HONC TAK.

It should at least keep him from drinking for a year, and he only lasted two or three days.

M. *E YUN TONC *ANC TA *AWO*TAN LA *AZ'IK *EHK *ABI, XKUT, *E YU*NIX *A XCI.

"Well, you only stop if you want to," I told him. "Yes," he said.

HINX *A MA YUNUK LA YILA LA STUK YO*TAN I, YUN TONC LA SZ'IK.

"Yes, my heart didn't reject the aguardiente, I willed not to drink."

273* One of the reasons why men may avoid drinking on succeeding days is economic. As drinking continues, there is a tendency to water the aguardiente, prolonging the drinking cycle by reducing the per person unit cost. Nevertheless, men go into debt to buy aguardiente and must often seek work outside the community in order to pay what they owe. (#26)

273* Other reasons are suggested by the questions and responses
124 of the survey. Fifty-four men reported that they became ill as a result of drinking--and illness following drinking appears very frequently in the texts. Eleven men reported that, at least occasionally, they are involved in fights while drinking. Fifty-two

273 183 [589] All of these performances fall within the range of acceptable, though perhaps imperfect, behavior for drunken men; that is, while some of them are considered deplorable and others dangerous, sanctions are usually limited to scolding and the conflict does not persist beyond the drinking situation.

On the other hand, the drunken man may be insulting or physically aggressive, and while these performances may be discounted on occasion, they often bring the individual into conflict which persists beyond the particular drinking situation. For the purposes of this description, we will define the conflict focus as that state which exists when an individual perceives his control over resources to be temporarily placed in increased jeopardy by circumstances some portion of which can be attributed to the action (or failure to take action) of some other individual; the jeopardized party must also perceive that there exists some form of action he can take (some remedy) in relation to the individual "causing" the conflict which will decrease his feeling of vulnerability.

273 578 Both insults and physical aggression by drunken individuals are verbally proscribed and often physically sanctioned. Aurelia Ramirez, speaking of the drunken insults of a relative who has been living in her house, says:

[539] PURA XC'AB YA YAL TU*L YA YAX YAKUBEL.

He talks of nothing but witchcraft when he is drunk.

273* 598 539 TYABLO TYABLO NA *I, HOLA CINGADO NA.

"Curse the house, curse the house!"

TONC YAN XYAKUB TA WINIKIL STUK.

It's inappropriate the way that man drinks.

HAYUN LA YALBE Z'IN SMA*ALIB, XC'OHT TA *AYEL, *A LOK'UK BAEL *A NUHZUK,

So [my daughter] went to her father-in-law and told him to turn them out,

MA*K HK'ANTIKIX *EHUK.

We don't want them any more,

273* 754 539 In another case, the outcome was more serious for the offender. Mariano Juarez describes how the men of the community decided who was the witch responsible for an epidemic of measles as follows:

PERO HIC EHK MAC'A YA XKUC*AK' CAMEL I, YUN YA YAL TA SYAKBEL TE SNA* *AK' CAMEL E.

But they blame that one for the witchcraft, because he says when he's drunk that he knows how to do witchcraft.

MA LA YAK XIW TULAN LA *AY, HA*C YA YAL TA SYAKBEL MAC'A TE SNA* *AK' CAMEL E.

[He says] that he's not afraid, he's strong, that's what he says when he's drunk, that he knows how to do witchcraft.

HAYUN HIC A SKUC *AK' CAMEL YUN KRISTYANETIK I, YUN A YAL TA SYAKBEL.

That's why they blame him for causing the illness among the people, because he says it when he is drunk.

... TA SYAKBEL YA YAL HA*TE MATO KAWAK' *A LIMXNA XCI TA SYAKBEL.

273* 754 539 . . . When he's drunk he says, "you haven't paid your tax yet!" (This is interpreted by our informant as meaning that none of the listener's children has yet died and, further, that the speaker can guarantee that some of them will die.)

HAYUN HIC MA XC'AY TA YO*TANIK HAL KRISTYANETIK I.

And so the hearts of the people don't forget this.

XLIHK CAMEL TA TEHKLUM HA* YA XKUC STUKEL.

When the illness begins in the community they blame him.

... TA SKAHABI YA XLAH TA MILEL YUN SBOLIL.

Because of this they kill him for his foolishness.

MA* TOHUK XYAKUB.

He doesn't get drunk the way one ought to.

273* 518 Physical aggression against drinking companions usually has immediate physical consequences. One fight which occurred between two drunken young men in the cemetery at the fiesta of Todos Santos ended with a broken arm for one of them, and in another fight hospital care was needed for the victim. Sabino Hernandez, on waking up after a night of drinking, is puzzled to find his hand sprained, because, as he remembers,

[539] MAYU*NUK *AY MA*C'A LAH KUT H'A SOK, TOHC YU*H TOH LAH KU*C' HAL HC'IN KA*AL I.

I didn't fight with anybody, I just drank my aguardiente the way one ought to.

273* 593 620 Drunken men who beat their wives can expect retaliation in kind only rarely, but a mistreated wife may complain of her husband's behavior to his elders, who will reprimand him and exact a promise to reform.

273* exact a promise to reform. Drunken abuse of a wife is specifi-
593 cally proscribed in the counsel given to a young couple during
the wedding ceremony:

• [539] HA*T KEREM, K'UXUTA ME AWINAM, MA ME AWUT, MA ME AMAM.

You, boy, esteem your wife, don't scold her, don't strike her.

ME LA *AWUC' POX, TOH ME XAK'AN AWE*EL, TOH ME XAK'AN AMAZ.

When you drink aguardiente, ask for your supper as one ought to, ask for your pozole as one ought to.

273* One wife's attitude toward her husband's aggressiveness when
539
593 drunk is characteristic of the Aguacatenango woman's view:

YU*NEN YIC'O BOLUBEL TA SOL HAL *IX *UTWAN NOMC I, WAH.

Maybe he's crazy, since he fights so much! Ha, ha, ha!

TONC YA HZE*LU Z'IN.

Afterward he just laughs.

*AY TYOS, HESUCRISTO, *ABONIK TE*K PERTON, MA*K HNA*, *E XCI Z'IN.

"God, Jesus Christ! Forgive me, I don't remember what I did," he says afterward.

*Y HAYUN HIC MA KAK' TA MUK' Z'IN.

And so I don't pay any attention afterward.

*IP ME KIC' E, KIC' *ABI, *E XCEBAL K'AHAL, *E MA*K HNA*, *E XCI.

Sometimes he hits me, he hits me then, and two days later he says, "I don't remember."

ATUKEL XANA ME KAWAK' PERTONE MA* KAWAK' PERTONE.

"Only you know if you will forgive me or not."

273* *E HIC PERE XK'AKAWON AWU*UN, YA KUT.
539
593 "I will pardon you, but I am ashamed of you," I tell him.

*E *AYIL MA*K HPASIS HONC *A, SLOT.

"It's all right, I won't do it again," he lies.

YU*N MALAME K'OPOHAN STUK TEME YU*N T'UKAH E.

It's that he doesn't like to hear talking when he's lying down drunk.

YU*N HUN TA *ALAL YU*N C'A*BAL YANE XWAY.

He's just like a baby, he only sleeps if it's quiet.

YAN STUK TEME YAKAT WULWUNEL E, YU*N HWINIK LA KAHMULA HATE XK'OPOHON SOK E.

If I make any noise he says I am talking with my lover.

*E YU*NEN *AY CAWAH TA SOL WAH.

Maybe he's crazy.

TONC YU*N XKUXLEH STUK *ILI.

That's just the way he is.

273* The willingness of the average wife to forgive drunken
593 abuse is an illustration of the fact that, in general, the behavior of an individual when he is drunk is subject to special interpretation by others. A drunken man is generally assumed not to be responsible for his actions; his unsocial behavior is likely to be disregarded. Speaking of a man who is accused of having given his brother a fatal illness by witchcraft because they had fought over an inheritance, Mariano Juarez and Juana Espinoza agree that it is unusual for fighting to have this result.

293*
578
539

M. YA XLIHK KUT HBAHTIK SOK *EHK HBANKILTIK I PERE ...

We start to fight with our brothers too, but . . .

J. *E PE TOH *AY C'IN HNUX I SKAH NAX YAKUBEL *EHK ABI.

But it's easy [to fight] a little on account of drunkenness.

M. YAKUBEL ...

Drunk . . .

J. MA* KUXLEHALUK.

Not sober.

M. SKAH YAKUBEL.

On account of drunkenness.

J. YU*N TONC TONC MOEM A YA*Y STRAWO *EHK ABI.

It's only that one feels like overstepping from the aguardiente.

HAYUN *AY A XMOH TA *AHOLIK Z'IN PE HA*NAX TE*K ABI.

Sometimes it goes to their heads, but only a little [fighting].

M. TOHOL K'OP.

Just talk.

J. MA*K XCAMOTIK YU*N *EHK TOHOL K'OP I.

We don't die from just talk.

Another illustration of the tendency to discount drunken behavior is a discussion in which Aurelia Ramirez reports the insults of the young man whom she had turned out of her house (mentioned in text above):

273* 578 • 539 A. NUN TE*K'EL NUN TA YUT C'IN NA E, YA XBON, YA XK'OTON TEME ...

He stood right over there, inside the little house [and said], "I'm going, I'm going to come". . .

MA* LOMUK A XBON STUK *ILI, YU*N K'AN LAHUK SLA* KO*TAN E.

"I'm not going away just like that, not till my anger is used up."

MA XLAH SLA* KO*TAN TU*L A SNUZONIK LO*L I, YAK'ONIK LO*L E.

"My anger isn't used up, because they turned me out, they sent me away."

TYABLO YA KIL TU*L A XLOK' TUK SLA* KO TAN I, MA*Y BA* XBAHT, XCI.

"The devil! We'll see how my anger will come out, it's not going to go away," he said.

M. *A XCI.

He said that.

A. XCI TONC XCA BA YAL HONC HAL BAHT I.

He said that, he talked a lot of witchcraft when he went away.

M. ME YUN A XYAKUB *A.

Could he have been drunk?

A. MA*K XYAKUB TAT KUXLEHAL A YAL.

273* 578 He wasn't drunk, mister, he said it when he was sober.

Mariano, in evaluating Aurelia's remarks, asks the crucial question, "Could he have been drunk?" The fact that he was sober implies that much more weight can be placed on his statements of his power to do witchcraft against others. We may perhaps infer

273* that Mariano will keep this in mind in future transactions with
578 this man--if he believes that Aurelia is telling the truth.

While a man's behavior when he is drunk is usually disregarded in forming character judgments, there are circumstances in which drunken behavior is seen as ambiguous. It is believed, for example, that foreign matter can be put into aguardiente by a member of the drinking group so as to cause the illness or death of one of the other participants. Examples of illness attributed to "poisoned" aguardiente will be offered in the next chapter; here it is sufficient to cite the belief as an indication that "true" aggression may sometimes be expressed when men are drunk. Other aspects of the ambiguity of drunken behavior are suggested in the following text fragment:

273* F. KILIX TEK TE *AY TU*Y KUN Z'IN *EHK E, PUES HA* Z'IN
578 HBANKIL, *ORA *ILI, LA HKABETIK SLUM TE HKOHT SKAH HTEK"EN
• 539 BETIK SNA....
593

Once I had seen that we had accumulated a little wealth, we gave a piece of land to my brother, we gave him a horse, we built him a house. . . .

HO*N YA STI*ON Z'IN HAL BAY BA *IL KUMPRE.

He comes around and bothers me in my house now, compadre.

... HA*Z'IN BA* STA TRAWI, BA* STA POX I, HA*TE XLIHK MOUK TA SOL *A.

. . . That's the way it is when one finds aguardiente, it goes to his head.

YAXC'IN YAL YA*KBIL CAMEL *EHUK, BUENO, HO*N MA* ZAMUK YA KA*Y *EHK HO*N ABI KUMPRE.

273 578 He begins to talk about witchcraft and I don't care for that at all, compadre.

539 593 HAL TRAWI, HA* MA HNA*TIK TUT XKALTIK SOK, MA HNA*TIK TUT HLOK'ESTIK SOK, TONC YUN *AY SLUWAR *AY MA* SLUWARUK XK'OPOHOTIK *A.

Because of the aguardiente, we don't know what we are saying, we don't know how to speak, sometimes it's correct and sometimes it's not possible what we are saying.

M. PERE HA* TE YUN MOEM TA HOLTIK YUN TRAWO *A E.

But this only happens when the aguardiente goes to his head.

F. HAIX KEMPRE, YUN MOEM TA HOLTIK MA HNA* TUT XKALTIK PERES TA SKAH TRAWO, SKAH POX *EHK *ABI.

That's right, compadre, it goes to our head and we don't know what we are saying, but it's because of the aguardiente.

MAYUNUK KUXLULUK KO*TANTIK E.

It doesn't happen when we are sober.

BA LA HTATIK HUN KERMANOTIK HUN HBANKILTIK, Z'AHAL BANKIL, Z'AHAL TAT, HA* XCI XK'OPOHOTIK Z'IN ABI, KONTENTO XK'OPOHOTIK SOK MAC'A KAMIGOTIK E.

When we are sober, when we encounter some brothers or uncles we say, "Good day, uncle, good day, sir," we talk contentedly with our friends.

PERO ME *OC Z'IN C'UL TRAWO, *E HUN *ORA HNA*TIK HUN *ORA MA HNA*TIK HA*YUN *AWA*Y TUL HIC.

But when aguardiente comes in, part of the time we remember and part of the time we don't remember.

MA* ZAMUK TA *UC'EL *EHK C'UL TRAWO HUN *ORA E.

In a way, it's not good to drink aguardiente.

273* towards the other members of the town, and/or if hostility is
578
754 characteristic of the individual even when sober, then a witch-craft component will probably be attributed to his character. If the vernacular of witchcraft is used in expressing hostility in either the first or the second condition, the attribution of witchcraft to the person is made more likely.

273* 578 Occasionally the outcome of drunken fighting is so extreme (e.g., when one participant dies) that "bad character" (but not necessarily witchcraft) is attributed to the aggressor regardless of considerations of intent or of his behavior when sober. In the following text fragment, such a case is discussed.

273* 578 (The fact that the pair had been drinking was ascertained from
539 a source other than the text.)

J. HA* CAM *ILI *ATATIK I.

The old gentleman died.

M. TU* LA SPAS.

What happened to him?

J. MA*YUK LAH TA MILEL.

I don't know, he was killed.

M. ME MA* CIKNAH.

Have they found out who did it?

J. CIKAN *AY HA* NAX MISMO SNEAL I, HA* HAL MA TATIK KCIK I XCI.

It seems that it was his own son-in-law, they said, that old Francisco [the honorific, used here in reference to a young person, derogates his status].

273* 578 •539 ... HATE YAHWAL NA HATE SWINKLEL Z'INE, *ABOT TOH TA S(H)OL ... HIZ

That head of the house, that owner, was hit on the head with a rock.

MA K'OLO MA JOHI.

A rock this big around.

HNA*TIK Z'IN, TU*L LIHK TE SK'OPIK Z'INE, LAH SMIL SBAIK.

We don't know how their argument began, he was killed.

... HA* MILAWAN SNEALI.

His son-in-law killed him.

... HATE MAC'A MILAWAN Z'INE, YIP LA HTATIK TAL Z'IN *A TE SMORAL, SMORALI, YIP LA HTABETAL Z'IN *A SOK CEB PIXIAL.

That one killed him, we only found his morral, only his morral and two hats.

... *ORA *ILI MA* TEK'AY *A, *ANIX LO*EL.

He's not here now, he fled.

M. HIC KOLOL Z'IN.

Then he got away.

273* The possibility that an individual when drinking is in fact speaking the truth is an entertainable idea especially under the circumstances that he reports information which individuals have been searching for unsuccessfully.

273* 626 578 In one text we find Mariano defending himself against statements he allegedly made while he was drunk. The context in which these statements were made is as follows. The woman who

273* 695 626 578 that she has heard that he made these remarks while drunk and knows that he writes Spanish well. He constructs a conversation for her between himself and one Augustin (who also writes Spanish) in which Augustin asks him if he did in fact write the threatening note, as he had claimed in Augustin's presence to have done. (Mariano never admits himself that he made these remarks while drinking.)

273* 578 539 626 HTAH BA SOK Z'IN HAL *AWSTIN I.

Later I met Augustin.

*I.I ME HIC ME YUN HAT Z'IN LA *APAS HUN I, XYUTON.

"Is it true that you wrote the note?" he asked me.

TU*UN XKUT.

"Why?" I asked him.

HA*BI *AY LA *AWAL TA *AYAKBEL XCI, LA AWAL TA *AYAKBEL *ILI, HO*N LA HPAS HUN I, HO*N LA KAK' HIL TO *AK'EL HIL TA STI* SNA XCIAT.

"Once when you were drunk you said so," he said, "You said, 'I wrote the note, I sent it to her house,' that's what you said," he said.

TU*N BA* LA HTA HBAHTIK XKUT.

"Where did we meet?" I asked him.

*AY LA HTA HBAHTIK TA YAKBEL, HO*N LA HPAS XCAT.

"Once we were drinking together, 'I did it,' you said."

*AYIL C'A*BAN MA HNA* MAC'A LA SPAS *EHK ABI, MA HA*KAT LA *APAS XKUTAT STUK HO*N E.

"'Stop it, be quiet, I don't know who did that. You didn't do it,' I said."

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HU*U HO*N LA HPAS XAWUTOH HIL XCI.

"'Yes, I did,' you told me," he said.

TENEX *A HUL KAL XAN TA HNA Z'IN.

From there I went home to hear it again.

HA*C LA YAK'IK HKUC ... HA*C LA ... HO*N LA KAL TA HYAKBEL.

"They are blaming you ... ." that I said it when I was drunk.

PASE *AK BA* HTA YAKBEL METO, XKUT AWIX I.

"Don't worry, what I could have done when I was drunk?" I told your aunt.

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578 In telling his wife not to worry, Mariano implies that the rumor will lose its force since it cannot be true.

Mariano also makes it plain to the rezadora later in the text that he wonders at Augustin's insistence on calling this story to his attention and spreading it around town. He implies that Augustin is being somewhat aggressive in doing this or is trying to cover up his own part in the note-writing act. The rezadora draws the conclusion for Mariano that it is probably Augustin who wrote the note, with which conclusion Mariano agrees. Thereby, in this interaction at least, he not only denies any part in the act but also supplies the rezadora with another person who is probably guilty.

273*
578 Individuals in search of the source of hostile acts are not averse to searching the conversations of men who are drinking deeply. In turn, men who drink deeply may use the privileged

273* 918 our measures of it are crude, but will perhaps serve as a first approximation. A penalizing strategy, in contrast, remains "active" as a basis for post-conflict interaction between the parties. The pure type of conflict bound by penalty is in fact an infinite series of conflicts operating on the pre-conflict role relationships of the parties so as to transform them, in the extreme case, into a relationship which must be terminated if either is to survive as a "social person." Under some circumstances, a penalizing strategy may call forth a counter-strategy of restitutive nature which breaks the chain before it becomes necessary to terminate interaction.

Among the restitutive strategies used to reduce the effects of drunken behavior is apology or restitution for the jeopardy on which the drunken aggression is based. Felix Perez 273* 578 573 539 tells how he has tried to stop his brother from threatening him while drunk:

PUES HA* Z'IN HBANKIL I *ORA *ILI LA HK'ABETIK HKOT SLUM ESTE HKOT SKA, HKA SLUM, HTEK'EN BETIK SNA....

Well then, we gave my elder brother his piece of land, his horse, his land, we built him a house. . . .

HA* XTI*WAN HIL Z'IN YUN Z'IN TE XTI*WAN KUMPRE.

He kept on bothering me, he kept on bothering me then, compadre.

LA HTATLANOK TA CAMEL YUNTIKILE *E.

His children were taken ill.

273* Z'IN *EHK HO*NE SESNTA SINKWENTA SIEN PESO KA*BE TUTIL XCOP
578 YUNTIKIL I, PE MA SNA* Z'IN HA* LA STI*ON YA*TIK BA*YON *IL,
593 KUMPRE.
• 539 I gave him sixty, fifty, a hundred pesos to cure his children, but he doesn't recognize that, he goes on bothering me here, compadre.

HA* XTI*WAH YUN NA I.

He bothers me about the house. (Felix, the youngest son, remained with his father and has been promised the house as his inheritance. His elder brother complains that the house should be his.)

... LIHK BENUK XAN KO*TAN Z'IN *E TU*UN *E LAH HCON HKOT C'IN CITAM Z'IN *E TU*UN *E *A KUMPRE *ILI.

I began to think again, and so then I sold a little pig, compadre.

*ABA XAN SIEN PESO XKUT Z'IN HTATIK TA HNA E, LEK'AY *ABI XCI.

"Give him another hundred pesos," I said, and then my father said, "All right."

KA*BE Z'IN YA*BE Z'IN STUKEL YUN Z'IN TE LA HKA*BETIK XAN Z'IN *ABI.

I gave it to him, he gave it to him, then we gave him more.

MA*SK'AN XAN NAXTAK *ABI STI*ON XAN NAXTAK YUN HNA *ILI.

He still didn't like it, he still kept on bothering me about the house.

273* 578 [593] The failure of all these measures to stop the brother's drunken threats has led the father to consider building a new house for Felix and giving the family house to the elder brother.

Another strategy is reprimand or punishment, where the jeopardized party has authority over the drunken offender or, alternatively, where the jeopardized party can appeal to such

273* an authority. One example of a reprimand is found in the texts:
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[539]

K'UXIX YU*N HA* MA*K STAIX *AWJ*TAN HAL TRAWI, AKUT.

"It's hurting you now, the aguardiente doesn't agree with you," I told him.

*ILA *E HIC PE YU*N YA TO SK'AN HONA XCI, *A SKUT.

"Yes, but my heart still wants more," he said. "All right," I said.

LA LOK' XAN K'AEL.

Then he went out again.

BALOTA *UTEL YU*N TATA* I.

His father reprimanded him.

LOK' XAN K'AL Z'IN.

He went out again afterward.

While the reprimand administered here had no immediate effect on the son's behavior, it was probably repeated when he was sober and was surely a factor in his subsequent avoidance of drinking settings.

273* A father may reprimand a son. A wife, if she has a good
593 relationship with her father-in-law, can have her husband repri-
692
[606] manded by his father. When these measures fail (as in the case of a son who struck his father in response to a reprimand), or when the jeopardized party is not in a position of authority over the offender, resort to the community court is an alternative strategy by which a restitutive outcome may be obtained.

273* In cases of drunken fighting which results in injury, the
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293* court usually demands a nominal fine (10 pesos--about a day's
683 wages--being the customary amount), and sometimes the defendant will apologize as well. In one such case, the plaintiff had to have hospital care, and the defendant was ordered to pay the bill (30 pesos) instead of a fine. Where the fighting ended in
293* a death, both fine and damages are charged, as in the murder
682 case already mentioned in text above:
• [539]

M. PERO ME LAHWAN YAK' TAK'IN TOHUBEH.

I wonder how much money it was settled for.

J. KINYENTOS PESO LAH YAK' HIL.

He handed over five hundred pesos.

M. ME HA* LAH SMUK Z'IN TE MAC'A CAM E.

Did he pay for the funeral of the dead man?

J. PUES MA HNA*TIK, MA YU*N LAH YA*BE SIYERO TRESYENTOS PESO.

Well, I don't know, maybe he gave him something like three hundred pesos.

M. APARTE XAN Z'IN TE KINYENTO LAH YAK'HIL E.

Apart from the five hundred that he handed over?

J. APARTE Z'IN *EHK HATE KINYENTOS PE E LAH YAK' HIL TA KABILTA.

Apart from the five hundred pesos that he handed over to the court.

682 It is important that in this case, the murderer not only paid
629 the fine and damages (through his wife) but also found it advisable to leave the community. Murder and witchcraft do not

627 children and without father or brothers to support her, found it
682 impossible either to retaliate or to remain under the eye of the
754 "killer," so she moved to a distant part of the community.

518 More often, breaking interaction is used as a penalizing
627 strategy in less serious conflicts. For example, a daughter-in-law living in her husband's paternal household complained that her father-in-law scolded her when he was drunk and, in order to reduce her vulnerability, left the house and returned to live with her own family. Sometimes, in such a case, the husband will attempt to make restitution in response to the penalty and the conflict will be resolved. Another case, mentioned in text earlier, is that of Aurelia Ramirez and her unwelcome house guest; she appealed to the young man's father-in-law and had him removed from her house. The penalizing nature of this strategy is illustrated in the text which followed (also cited above); the conflict remained "active" in the relationship between Aurelia and the young man in that he returned to threaten her
[692] with witchcraft. Aurelia's next move is instructive; still feel-
[754] ing vulnerable, she sought the judgment of the court. However, this being a case of threat of witchcraft, the court refused to rule. She describes her rebuff as follows:

• [539] KIK' Z'IN KALBE LO*L SME*L NEAL, KOMO PRESIDENTE.

I went out to speak to his father-in-law, since he is president.

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627
539 MALA TUTA YAL, MALA TUTA SLOK'ES, YU*N HO*N LA HA HLE HK'OP, HO*N LA PIS TYTA KALTLAN LA.

[He said] that he isn't saying anything, that he isn't taking anything, that I'm lying, that I'm the one who's saying it all.

273 * 578 In general, persisting conflicts arising from drunken behavior are relatively infrequent among highly relational role pairs--people who live in the same household and/or are tied to each other by extensive obligations, such as parent-child, sibling-sibling, husband-wife, parent-in-law-child-in-law. In this role set, drunken behavior tends to be discounted or excused on later apology by the offender. When persisting conflicts occur, they are usually handled by means of restitutive strategies employed within the family and do not reach the community court. On the other hand, persisting conflicts based on drunken behavior among lowly relational pairs--people whose obligations toward each other are relatively few, such as siblings-in-law, neighbors, persons of opposite barrios (in descending order)--are fairly common. Indeed, all of the fighting and much of the murder and witchcraft in this role set involve drunkenness. Here there is perhaps no basis for discounting drunken behavior or less [692] opportunity to make apologies. In any case, these conflicts tend to be taken to the community court--the only authority which both parties recognize--for a restitutive outcome when only injury is involved, and they tend to be handled with severe penaliz-

273* 695 tional informal drinking segments may follow, but they will not necessarily take place on the cabildo porch, and the group may break up, so that drinking is simultaneously going on in two or three settings. All informal drinking rules hold from then on. The normal drinking performance following dispute settlement includes ceremonial drinking plus informal drinking segments which lead to drunkenness. The probability of this is expressed in text where an elder warns the wives of town officers that their husbands will sometimes return home drunk (see Chapter V for citation of text).

The escalation of conflict

273* 578 731 In the case where conflict is to be "settled" by increasing the jeopardy of the other party, aguardiente is supplied by the individuals who are interested in escalating the conflict. The aguardiente is supplied during the time when the conflict is 273* 578 731 "settled" rather than afterwards. Such a case is described in text as follows:

539 K'ALAL LIHK K'OP E YUN SKA CAMEL SARANPIA YUN BAYAL XCAM *ALALETIK.

The fighting began because many children were dying of measles.

HA* SLIHKIL K'OP *ABI HTIHK' WINIKETIK LA SNOP SK'OPIK, YUN LA *OCEM CAMEL TA TEHKLUM.

The action began in the beginning because a group of men got together to talk about who had put the illness in town.

273* HA * HIC LIHK SZOB SPISIL WINIKETIK TA TEHKLUM.
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In this manner all the men in town began to get together.

HA* PRIMERA ZOBAWAN MAC'A TE SK'OKIK TA MUKAHEL E.

The first men to get together were those who had been to the funeral [of a boy who had died of measles].

HA* HIC LIHK K'OP *ABI LA YALIK TE YUN *AY MAC'A YOXES E CAMEL TA TEHKLUM.

In this way the action began, and they said that someone had put the illness in the town.

HA*LA YUN HIC BAYAL YA XCAH *ALALETIK.

And for this reason many children died.

HAYAN HIC LA SZOB SBA SPISIL WINIKETIK YUN CAMEL I.

Because of this, all the men got together, because of the illness.

TA SKA TRAWO LIHK YALIK HA* HIC LIHK SZOB SBAIK.

Because of the aguardiente they began to talk, and thus they began to get together.

LIHK YALIK YUN *AY SWINKLEL HAYUN HIC MUK'UB YUNIK HAL K'OP I.

They began to say that the illness had an owner and for this reason the excitement increased.

LIHK YUC'IK TRAWO YUN HIC *AY SPERSIK *A MAYUK XIWEL TA K'OP *A.

They began to drink aguardiente so that they would be strong, so that they would not be afraid to speak.

HAYUN NAL YA XKIXINTES SBAIK TA TRAWO YUN MILAHAN E.

For this reason, first they warm themselves with aguardiente in order to kill a man.

273* 578 731 • 539 YUN PLETO HA* HIC MAYUK XIWEL *A.

In order to fight without being afraid.

753 In conjunction with collateral evidence, this text provides support for the following points. One of the standing beliefs in Aguacatenango is that sickness of god /XCAMEL YU*UN TYOS/ is essentially curable. Measles is classified as such a [754] sickness. When the children die in a measles epidemic, some "witch" must be laying on further illness components which cause the death. One mode of reducing the witchcraft component in the illness is to kill the witch or witches.

754 755 The problem of determining who the witch(es) may be in such a case as this is very difficult. The well-defined and formally correct mode is to call together several of the curers, have them pulse the patient, hear their announcement that the sick person is suffering from witchcraft and insist that they name the witch or witches. The curers are likely to go as far as to indicate that a witchcraft component is involved in the illness, but they most often are unwilling to name an individual, as their name becomes associated with their testimony and the alleged witch and his kinsmen are likely to impose severe 754 penalties on the curer. The search for the witch, then, must go on, under the force of standing beliefs as follows: Individuals in the community may be assigned a witchcraft potential on the basis of a variety of evidence. In this case the text

754 mentions that the man (one Margarito Mendez) claimed to be a witch while he was drinking. Hence without knowing whether Margarito Mendez was the witch in this particular case, but knowing that he was thought to be a witch in general, the men attributed the deaths to him.

754 627 *273 To kill a witch is a dangerous undertaking. The community should be in agreement, and the mode of killing must be sure or the coalition of the witch will defend him and take counter action against the assassins. In this context, drinking places the individuals in that condition of lack of fear in which they can complete the affair without undue consideration of its effects on their further plans.

754 • 539 An example of the specific statement of the fear reflex in naming witches appears in Ausencio Espinoza's monologue, where one finds the assertions (made at the funeral of a youth who was presumed to have died of witchcraft):

HA* Z'IN ABI YA YAL SPISIL MAC'ATIK XK'OK TA MUKAHEL I,

And afterward, all those who went to the funeral said,

CIKAN *AY MA*C'A LAH HAK'HOL CAMEL I, PERO MA SPAS TA HALEL MAC'A LA YAK', TA REPENTA ME LA YA*BOTIK *EHK E.

"We know who caused the illness, but we can't say who did it, for he might quickly make us ill also."

HA*YU*N MA SPAS YALEL PORKE YAN K'OP XI'BINTIK SBA XCILIK HAL WINIKETIK I.

"For this reason, it isn't possible to say it, because it's bad talk, it's dangerous," said the men.

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539 HA*YU*N MA HNA* MAC'A LAH HAK' NAL C'OHBIL CAMEL I.

For this reason, it isn't known who did the witchcraft.

273* One further reason for drinking in such a situation in-
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672 volves the belief of Aguacatenangueros that individuals who are drunk must be excused for an act they commit. Thus, the individual who is about to increase the probability that some other members of the community will come into conflict with him (i.e., the immediate family of the witch) becomes drunk, and is thus not responsible for his acts. Acts performed while drunk express less clearly the intent of the actor than similar acts performed while sober.

In the case of drinking performances associated with acts of violence, the ceremonial drinking-informal drinking contrast is not well defined. The persons who most desire that the sanctioning acts be performed supply the aguardiente. They continue to supply aguardiente until their ends have been achieved. The ceremonial drinking segment is determined temporally by the vagaries of events. It may be short or long. It is probably not followed by an informal drinking segment. In fact, it more probably is preceded by either an informal drinking segment or, for that matter, a ceremonial drinking segment. The necessities of the situation override the ceremonial aspects of the performances.

273*
182 Drinking performances are associated with risky forms of

273* 753 The role of drinking performances in the onset of illness

Informants report that drinking may result in illness. One can distinguish, in the case of consequent illness two rather distinct constellations of features which lead to illness. The first involves the enchanting of the aguardiente by some bad-intentioned person, a substance being inserted in the aguardiente which causes severe illness or death to the person who drinks it. The second state involves interpretation of the supposed results of drunkenness, the universal result of the consumption of aguardiente in substantial amounts.

273* 753 539 An example of the first condition appears in a text fragment of Ausencio Espinoza, as follows:

NAL PRIMERA LIHKE YU*N LOK' TA PAXEAL HUN *AHK'BAL SOK SOTAK.

This began when he went out to party with his friends.

BAYAL XK'OKIL BA STOHIK SK'INIK SLOK'ESLAN SBILIK TA BOSINA.

There were several of them who paid for their music and they announced their names on the loud speaker.

PERO SUNUL *AHK'BAL PAXYAHIK.

They partied all night.

TA XCE'BAL K'AHAL LIHK YA'Y K'UX TA SBE YIK' MA*K SNA* STOHOL TUT *AY TE K'UX E.

The next day he began to feel a pain in his throat and he didn't understand what it was from.

BAHT TA *A*TEL.

He went to work.

273* 753 • 539 TE TA YA*TEL E MA LA X HU* YA YA*Y I TONC LA YA YA*Y TE MA*YUK SPERSE.

He went to work and he was not able to do it, for he felt very weak.

XCE*BAL K'AHAL HA* NAX HIC.

The next day he felt the same.

YOXEBAL K'AHAL HA* NAX HIC.

On the third day he felt the same.

TE*BEHTIK *UNINOT TONC HA* K'UX LI* TA SBE YIK' I.

Little by little the illness dominated him, what gave him pain was his throat.

MA SPAS XWE* SOYOK MA SPAS X KO HNUXUK SBAL XC'UHT TONC YAKB YU*UN TE ZK'UXUL SNUK' E.

He was not able to eat, and he began to grow thin for the pain in his throat.

HA* HIC LIHK XCAMEL ABI.

In this way his illness began.

TONC LIHK Z'IN PURA YA*AL TI*IL LIHK MALMUNEL HONA.

Afterwards he was spitting a lot of phlegm.

MA X MAHK LIHK *IPAHUK LEK.

It didn't stop, it got worse.

*OC TA POXTAYEL WEHT YAH*UL LA XPOXTA PURO MANBILIL POX LA YA*BE.

They began to cure him. The curer used only medicines that were purchased.

PERO MA* TOHOL CAMELUK HA* SAK *OBAL I.

But it was not a simple illness, it was tuberculosis.

273* X*OBEINAHE MA X LOK' HAL *OBAL I.
753
539 When he coughed the phlegm did not come up.

HA* HIC CAM HAL KEREM BONIFASY I.

In this manner Bonifacio died.

X K'OK TA POXTAYEL TA MUK'UL *AKIL PERO MA HNA* MAC'A TE POXTAWANEH MA* TOHUB YU*N YAHCAMEL E.

He went to Pinola to cure himself. I don't know who it was that tried to cure him, but he failed.

*A LA PERSA CAM K'AIAL CAM E, BAYAL X K'OK SMUKEL.

Inevitably, he died. Many went to his funeral.

HA* Z'IN ABI YA YAL SPISIL MAC'ATIK XK'OK TA MUKAHEL I, CIKAN *AY MA*C'A LAH HAK' HOL CAMEL I, PERO MA SPAS TA HALEL MAC'A LA YAK', TA REPENTA ME LA YA*BOTIK *EHK E.

And afterward, all those who went to the funeral said, "We know who caused the illness, but we can't say who did it, for he might quickly make us ill also."

273* So, Bonifacio is reported to have been carousing with
753 his friends for the course of an evening. The specific behaviors which are mentioned include: (a) making a party (in a bar) for one night. The specific features of the party-making include: (1) paying the barkeeper to play music over the loudspeaker system; and (2) announcing their names over this same loudspeaker system. While drinking is not mentioned in the text, it is none the less the case well confirmed by informants that it is unlikely that drinking did not go on in this setting.

The next day Bonifacio went to work. In a matter of weeks Bonifacio died of tuberculosis, an illness whose etiology

273* 753 carries a strong witchcraft component. The conclusion apparent in the text is that Bonifacio was subject to this witchcraft contamination the night of the party, a point which informants confirm.

The party context, then, is one which may make the individual particularly susceptible to witchcraft. One reason for this may be that the party-goer becomes drunk and is thus less well aware of potentially threatening performances around him. A second is that he is ingesting substances (like aguardiente) the precise character of which he does not know; they being brought to the party by his companions or bought at the bar. It is a standing belief that a witch can cause trago to accept poisonous material which will kill the man who drinks it. Thus Bonifacio was killed at the party, the method being unknown (but not unlikely by using aguardiente as a medium), the killer being unknown but probably a member of the party group.

273* 753 539 A further example from text picks up a few more of the features of the drinking situation which is likely to be associated with witchcraft.

M. HINC*A, CAWAH TA HOL.
Yeah, I'm crazy in my head.

C. HAL LA STIH TRAWO *EHK I.
The trago brought that on.

273* M. HA* MA* KA*YTIK BA* YA KUC'TIK TUT'IL *ULEMOTIK I.
753
539

We lose track of where we are drinking when we are good and drunk.

YU*N HO*N MA* KA*YIX K'OP *A, HA*WAN LA HTAIX *A HATE YU*N KUXEBAL E.

It's because I didn't obey; perhaps I got it during Holy Week.

*E LA KAK'HBA TA *ILEL TA *ORA, MANIX KAK' TA MUK' *EHK *ABI.

I tried to cure myself right away but it didn't do any good.

TONC YUN C'ABAL YA KA*Y TONC STUBI YUN LEK *AN YA KA*Y TU*L NIX *AYINON *A.

I hear a lot of silence, and nothing is well with me as I have always been.

LIHK KA*BE XAN Z'IN HAL YUN K'IN E, HUNYO E.

I began to drink again in the fiesta in June.

YUN TE LA SAPUYONIK XAN *A TE MAC'A NIX YA YIL BIHINON *A E.

He bewitched me again, the same guy who had bothered me before.

TE LA POHOL HIL HXANAB *A, TE POHOL HIL HPOKO *A, PERE MA*Y XC'ULEL HNUXUK.

I left my sandals lying there, my flashlight lying there, I just didn't remember a thing.

MA* BA C'IN HPAS HA*IC.

This has never happened to me before.

*OCON K'OL TA HNA Z'IN TONC BOLBOLTIKIX HBA Z'IN *A, TONC YANATIK TUTA KALIX *A TO *OCON K'OL E.

I arrived in my house afterwards half crazy. I saw things wildly strange when I got there.

273* 753 This informant relates the kind of association between his mental disturbance and the drinking of aguardiente. In this case, the disease did not stem directly from the aguardiente but from the experience he had while drinking the trago; namely that someone bewitched him. Having had the illness cured he began to drink again, which was a mistake since the witch knowing of his drunken condition, was able to cast the same spell on him again. Under this spell, his loss of consciousness was more penetrating than anything he had ever experienced as the result of drinking.

This informant reports that his ability to resist the witchcraft attack was greatly reduced while he was drinking. We speculate that such a loss of control involves the individual's loss of ability to control the alters with whom he associates, the locations he moves into, and the substances he drinks.

273* 753 539 A more specific example of the introduction of witchcraft substances into the aguardiente can be found in the text fragment of Josefa Lopez, the relevant parts of which appear in the citation below.

NAL PRIMERE LA* HTIKUN KAL TA RESAL.

It began when I sent him to Rosary.

LA KALBE BAN TA RESAL TATA, BAN *AK'A AC'IN LIMXNA ZUNA AC'IN KANTELA XKUT.

I told him, "Go to Rosary, my son, take a little candle as an offering."

273*
753 KO XCI, BAHT Z'IN.
539 "All right," he said, then he went.

LAH RESAL Z'IN LA STA SBA SOK XC'IN HOTAK BAHTIK TA IL K'IN.

After the Rosary, he chanced on some of his friends and they went to watch the fiesta.

YUN SK'IN ME*TIK PASKO BA YILIK BA* *AN C'IN NINO TYOS TA SNA MIGUEL MENTES.

It was the fiesta of Christ's birth and they went to see the Christ-child at the house of Miguel Mendez.

BA YILIK HU* *AHK'OT *I TE LA *ABOTIK C'IN HPIS TRAWO *A XCOLET LA TAL TE HP'IS TRAWE.

They went to watch the dance, and there my son was given a shot of aguardiente along with all of the men as the drink pourer moved around the group.

*ABOT LA Z'IN *EHUK PERO MALA KOK YU*UN TA *UC'EL.

They gave him another but he was not able to drink it.

LI* LA MAHK HIL LI*TA SNUK I.

It got stuck here in his throat.

HUN LA TA C'INIK BAK *IXIM K'ATAL HIL TA SNUK I.

It seemed as though little grains of corn were stuck in his throat.

LAH LA YO*BENTA MALA XLOK.

He coughed but it did not go away.

HA* Z'INABI K'OT YALBON *ORA *ILI LA HTAIX CAMEL.

He came home and told me that he had just got sick.

MAHNA* TY*N BON TA RESAL I LA SMONONIK TA *IL K'IN HOL HOTAK I.

"I don't know why, I went to Rosary and my friends invited me to watch the fiesta."

273*
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• 539

PERO LA YA*BONIK KUC' HPIS TRAWO PERO MA* KO XCI HULEL TA HNA.

"But they gave me a shot of trago and it didn't go down," he said upon arriving home.

MATO *AK K'AHAL Z'IN *A TUHXA TA CAMEL *ABOT K'AHK'.

Not many days afterwards he fell sick with fever.

E HA Z'INABI K'AX HAL K'AHK' I, TONC MA* HAHC LIHK K'UXUBUK SNUHKLEL.

After the fever passed, he was unable to get up, his body began to ache.

LIHK YA*Y XTI*LAHAN SNUHKLEL X HUN LA TA STI*AW XANIC MALA XU* YAN LA HA YA*I.

He began to feel pain in his body as though ants were biting him and this was very depressing.

LIHK NIKOTUK TA SIK, MA*YUK SPERSA YA YA*I, TONC *IPA HONA.

He began to tremble with cold; he felt weak; he got very much worse.

BA HK'AN PAWOR SOK HME*HTATIK.

I went to ask assistance of the curers.

LA KAK'TA PIKEL XC'IC'EL LA YAL Z'IN LA YU*C' TRAWO TA BA* XK'OK TA *IL K'INE.

I let them pulse him, and afterward [the curer] said, "He drank aguardiente where he went to the fiesta."

*ABOT HPIS TRAWO YU*C' XC'IN MAHTAN, PERO *AY MA* C'A *ILOWAN LA SPAS *IL *OTAN O LA SPAS PUKUHIL.

"They gave him a shot of aguardiente as a gift, but there was someone who looked evil or who did the evil thing."

HA*HIC LA STA CAMEL C'IN KEREM I XCI.

"That is how the boy became sick," he said.

273* HA* C'OHBIL CAMEL I LOM TULAN *AY MAXU* TA HTUL YAH*UL YA
753 SK'AN CA*TUL YAH*UL HA* HIC SPAS TA POXTAYEL *A XCI HAL
539 H*UL I.

"This witchcraft is very strong, he won't get well with only one curer. He needs two curers to get well," he said.

*OC TA POXTAYEL Z'IN PERO MA*YUK HTAKIN *A.

The curer began to cure him, but I didn't have any money.

HAWAL NUHUL LO'ON TA MAHAN TA*K'IN YUN POX.

I hurried to borrow money in order to buy the medicine.

LAH TA POXTAYEL Z'IN, C'IN KALKALTIK TE*K HIL.

After the cure was over, he was a little better.

PERO HA* NAX CE* *OXE* K'AHAL I LIHK LA KUXUBUK A YA*Y LI*TA SBE YI*K I.

But only for two or three days, and then began to feel the pain in his throat.

MALA SPAS YA SBIK' YA*L STI*, MA SPAS XKO SWE*EL KUXLAHA YA*Y HONA.

He couldn't swallow his saliva, he couldn't swallow his food, it hurt so much.

MAHNATIK TU*LA XBAHT, ME XCOHP *O ME MA XCOHP.

We don't know whether he is going to get well or not.

*A YAK'WIL TA TYOS TU*LA X BAHT E.

We'll see what God says.

273* 753 Many other informants relate having narrowly escaped witchcraft by avoiding drinking from some particular bottle of trago. If the man who is drinking is very much alive to this possibility, he will be able to observe swirling hair-like ma-

273 757 other hand, one wishes to stop drinking, he will drink coca cola and leave the house.

Normally, a cure for a hangover, if it is not followed by more drinking, is successful in a one day time period. The length of a drinking performance can be computed as ceremonial 273 drinking plus informal drinking plus one day. If some symptons 753 757 of the hangover continue on successive days, or if the hangover has unusual symptoms, individuals are alerted to the fact that the drinking performance is about to cause more serious consequences. There follow some text fragments in which the more 273 753 757 serious consequences are displayed and discussed by informants.

539 M. HA* YA HK'AN HTAMTIK RASON TY*L LIHK HATE X.HAL *IK TA SBAKEL HTATA I.

I want to ask the reason why my uncle's backache began.

D. *AX TA YOXEBAL HA*WIL, ME TA XCANEBAL HA*WIL HONC HATE LA STA E.

It began about three or four years ago.

PERE HUN TA TE ...TA K'AXIX ... TA XK'AXEL KUXEBAL YU*N *IP LEK YAKUB HONAX.

It seems that . . . a while ago . . . it was just after Holy Week, because he drank so much.

TONC BAZ'IL LAH YAK' HONC HATE HUN *U MA* BEN E.

For one month he couldn't walk, he really had it.

HUN LAH TA YU*N XIHIL TE* A YA*Y STUK TA YOK I.

It was as though there was a splinter in his foot.

273* YA YAK' HONC HU*N K'AS YU*N TONC YU'N HIC XKOTLAHAN YA X
753 LOK' E.
757
539 It hurt a lot. He had to crawl to go out.

YU*NEN TA TRAGO LA HTA XCI.

Perhaps I got it from the trago," he said.

YU*NEN POX YA SK'AN HONC YU*N AK' TAK'IN E XCI.

"Perhaps it needs medicine, if only there were some money," he said.

X TAL AWA*Y Z'IN E, LI* LA XBAHT TA SBAKEL I.

The next thing he knew, it was here in his back.

WOKOL STUK *IL TAT TONAX YU*N SZ'IKOHONC HEHK STUK TU*L TA *A*TEL I.

It's not a little that he suffers, especially as he is now a mayordomo.

M. MA*YUK YA YAK' SBAH TA POXTAYEL.

Isn't he being cured?

HA*YUN MA*K XCOHP.

That's why it's not getting better.

273* In this particular case, the illness being referred to
753 had already lasted three or four years, according to the text. The association of drinking with the onset of this illness was strong enough, then, to be remembered by the sick man's wife after a period of years.

273* In the following text fragment, we see another example
753
539 of this reasoning about the relationship between illness and drinking.

273* M. HA* YA HLE HCAMEL YU*N *EHK YAKBEL I.
753
• 539 I looked for my illness in a big drunk.

LA KA*BE LEK.

I drank a lot.

YAN SOK MA*K WAN XLIHK HIC MA*K KUC'.

It's bad, and it wouldn't begin if I didn't drink.

HA* HATE YU*N MA* HUNUK NAX K'AHAL YA KUC' *EHK E.

It's because I don't drink for only one day.

YA YAC' HUN SEMNA HA* YUN TONC TE....

I drink for a week, and that's the reason. . . .

MA*K XWE*ON SOK TAK HA* YUN ... TRAWO KUXULOH *A.

I don't eat with it, that's way . . . I live on trago.

HA* YU*N TE STIH HCAMEL Z'IN *A.

It's for this reason that the illness begins.

273* In this example, not only do we see evidence for associating drinking with illness, but we also observe the particular type of drinking which caused the illness, namely drinking which goes on for a week. An associated feature of the drinking that caused Mariano to become sick, and that in general is perceived to cause illness, is that drinking and eating are usually mutually exclusive.

In the following remarks of Cirilo Hernandez we see further evidence of the association of illness with drinking.

273*
953
539 HIC MO TAXL K'AHAL E, TEMA* LAHIX HMA TAT E.

A few days ago, my father barely escaped dying.

*E K'UX C'UHTUL.

It was stomach ache.

HA BA YIC' TA K'OLAL YUN LA YUC' TRAWI.

He got sick because he drank aguardiente.

HUN *U LA YUC'.

He drank for a month.

TONAX YUN HA* *AN *EHK SME*L *INAM I, TONAX HUN *U SMIL SBA YUN TRAWO LI*I.

His wife left him and he killed himself drinking for a whole month.

TEMA* LAH.

He nearly died.

E SLA YO*TAN WAN.

It was from bitter anger and shame.

*AHTAL *O*TAN H*OLIL I, TEY YIHIX *ILI, TEY TRAWO NAX TAK LOM NAHT' LA YA*BE TRAWI.

On the one hand, it was from sadness; besides, he's already an old man, and he drank for a very long time.

K'AHAL *AHK'BAL, TONC *AY TA STI* HAL TRAWI XAHC TA SAK K'INAL YUC' XAHC TA SAK K'INAL YUC'.

Night and day, all that went into his mouth was trago; he started drinking as soon as he got up.

LA STOH LEK HONAX, K'O YA*Y HONC KUX HONC Z'IN I.

He paid plenty for it, he felt the effects a lot, he suffered a lot afterward.

273 KALBAT MA XAWUC'IX *A K'A KA*Y AKOMEL, HA* SNAEL TUT KAPAS
753 *ILI, XCUT.
539 I told him, "Don't go on drinking so much, you feel so bad because of your drinking," I said.

Again, in a text fragment of Juan Mendez:

J. LA *IL HA YUN K'IN I, KUC' KA*AL.

And then I drank during the fiesta.

K'AXAN K'IN NAXTAK I, HAL KA*BE XAN HUN TA KA* XAN HUN TA CE* XAN K'AHAL KA*BE XAN K'A XAN K'IN NAXTAK I, YUN MAYUNUK TRAWO STIHBON TAL MA *IK' Z'IN I.

After the fiesta, it seems to me that I drank for two days more. Don't you suppose that this rheumatism began because of the trago?

M. YUN *AY LOM K'UN HNUHKLELTIK *A HAYUN *ORA X TASWAN K'AHK' I.

Sometimes our body gets very weak and then we are taken with fever.

HTE* NAX TE*K MA *AY BA* HMAH HBAHTIK TA *IK', K'IXNAHEM HNUHKLELTIK *A E.

If our body is just a little hot, rheumatism will hit us. [Note: Aguardiente is believed to "heat" the body.]

273* 539 Extended drinking can cause fantastically frightening experiences. Jose Mendez describes one as follows:

J. HATE LIHK HONC *A TAT *ILI, LA HKUC' HC'IN KA*AL YU*N SK'IN SANTO.

It all began because I drank aguardiente on All Souls' Day.

KUC' HC'IN KA*AL *AY KA*TEL TA SNARYOS *A YU*N SLAHIB *ATEL *ABI TAT.

I drank because I was mayordomo--my last cargo.

273*
• 539 HA*NIX *ABI YU*N YOC SK'IN SANTO HA* Z'IN HO*N E *AME TONC, *AME TONC *A HO*A LEK K'AHAL LA KUC', SWAKEBAL K'AHAL Z'IN BEN SAB HONC Z'IN, MA* TEK WAN TA HNA E, TE WAN TA SNA HKUMPRE, STAT PEYRO HROK E.

After All Souls' Day, I drank for five days. On the sixth day, I got up early. I wasn't sleeping in my own house but in the house of my compadre, the father of Pedro Rogaciano.

LA YA*BON XA N HUN KWARTA Z'IN, *E TOH X*OC BON Z'IN *OCON K'OL TA HNA Z'IN SAK' INAL I.

He gave me another quarter of a liter, and it went down well. Then I went home, as it was getting light, to my own house.

J. HUL YA*BON Z'IN XC'IN KAHPE Z'IN I, NA*TAK ABI TAT TUT'A TE MOH TA HOL E, TONC LA LA KA* XMU HC'IN Z'IN KAHPEN I, KA* XMU HC'IN HIL Z'IN.

When I arrived my wife offered me some coffee. I don't know what got into me, but I threw the coffee at her, I threw it in her face.

HA* NAX LOK'ON Z'IN ABI BOON--HA* NAX LA MA* TU KA*YEHIX LOK'EL.

Then I just left without taking anything.

HIC C'IN MUK'UL K'AHAL Z'IN TO ME HNA * BA TONC C 'AN K'OL TA *UK'UMALTIK Z'IN LI* K'AL TA SBELAL YANC'EN TAKIN *UK'UM Z'IN E.

Late that day, I don't know where I lost myself by the river on the trail to San Bartolo, near the Rio Seco.

E MAK HNA TY *ORA K'AHAL Z'IN *OCON K'OL TAT, ME TUP'IX K'AHAL *ABI ME TU *ORA K'AHAL Z'IN *A.

I don't know what time it was, whether or not the sun had gone down.

TONC MAY HPIXOL MAY XANAB HIC LOK'ON, K"AL TO TAT, TONC LIHKON TAT, TONC MAY PIXOL E, MAY XANAB E, HIX PE TO LO'L KOK HK'AB TO.

273* 539 I didn't have my hat or my sandals. I went out without my hat or my sandals, with my arms folded.

HA* NAX LA XI* LO*L HONC HATE YU*N KAK' TEK X'IN KAHPEH E, BON Z'IN, *E PERE *E TONC TE TONC TE KUX LO*L KO*TAN Z'IN *A.

As I recovered my memory, I was afraid, for I threw coffee in my wife's face.

HA* TE LIHK Z'IN ABI, TONC HUN TA YU*N HOWIYEL MA HNA* TUT'A TE LA HPAS LOK'EL E.

That's the way it began, it was like madness, that's why I don't know what I set out to do.

M. *A HOWIYEL.

It's madness.

J. *E YU*NIX BAHTALUK *A TAT, *E TONC TA TRAWO LOK'ON TIK E.

It might be, sir. It's because of the trago that I went out.

273* 158 Up to the point in the fragment where José returned to his home that sixth morning, everything was going normally. He'd drunk some aguardiente to kill the hangover, which is customary, and it sounds as though he planned to stop drinking. The craziness expressed itself in his throwing coffee in his wife's face. (He may have done this in response to his wife's complaining about his drinking so long.) He furthermore left the town with no purpose and lost himself several hours' walk from town. Finally, he left his house without the proper traveling equipment--hat and sandals.

This is an experience which, by Aguacatenango standards,

273* 158 is frightening. The normal range of responses to heavy drinking includes a variety of unpleasant symptoms. It is not unusual for men to "black out" for periods of time during the later stages of the drinking performance. But loss of memory and the physical disabling features take place in paths and places within the limits of the settlement. It is an unusually strong disorganizing force that will drive a man outside of the settlement into fields and mountains, into settings in which the level of threats to persons are greater than the in-town settings.

Following this condition of loss of memory, José became physically ill, the illness lasting for more than a year. The first craziness and then the succeeding illness are traced back to the drinking context. While no mention is made of witchcraft in this text, and I could not elicit this information, this type of illness response to drinking is reaching a pitch where informants would be likely to suggest a witchcraft component in the etiology.

273* 539 The following text fragment is a little longer, but as it illustrates multiple points, it seems worthwhile to include:

M. HA* YA HK'ANTIK PAWOR MA SPAS XAWALBOTIK C'IN CA* PALUK TUT'IL TAOT TA CAMEL HKUMPRE KUX TA YAKBEL E.

Could you tell us how my compadre got sick when he got over the big drunk?

273* MJ.
• 539

*E TUT'IL KUMPRE, *E TONAX, TONAX LIHK TAL TA SYAKBEL HA*.

Well, compadre, it began with the drunk, ay, dios.

*ILE--HATE HUN TA K'AHALIL E, LOK' K'ABEL, LA TONC WOKOL *AY *AH*UNEL HONC ABI.

We went out one day complaining of a terrible hangover.

YAK *AH*UNEL, YAK *AH*UNEL, *E K'UXIX YU*N HA* MA*K STAIX *AWO*TAN HAL TRAWI, AKUT.

"Yes, your're complaining, it's because your heart can't stand the aguardiente any longer," I told him.

*ILA *E HIC PE, YU*N YA TO SK'AN HONA XCI, *A XCUT, LA LOK' XAN K'AEL, BALOTA *UTEL YU*N TATA* I.

"Maybe," he said, "but it still wants more." "All right," I said. Then he went out again. His father scolded him.

LOK' XAN K'AL Z'IN, LA *ILI STAH TAL HIC *ORA Z'IN KUMPRE--KILTIK E NUN TA *AY NUN TA HEHC E.

He went out again, then he came about this time of day, compadre--we saw him over there, over on the other side of town.

HA* Z'IN TATA* XTU*L *AY TA KABILTA Z'IN I, LAME *AXTAK STAT CIK I XCI, MA*YUK XKUT, HAL LI* BAHTIX TA HEHCTIK I XCI, *A *E YU*NEN MA*K XTALIX *ABI XKUT.

When his father came home from the cabildo, he said, "Was Francisca's father come?" I said, "No." He said, "Perhaps he's not coming, then."

YU*NIX MA XTALIX *A TE--TE TA BAHT *A E XCUT, *AA XCI, LA *IL *AK'A ME C'AY *EHK HA*T ABI YA ME XBOTIK TA TUC'CENEK XCI.

"He's probably not coming if he's gone over there," he said. "Yes," I said. "Then hurry up, we'll go and harvest beans," he said.

273* LA HA* YA KILTIK Z'IN KOEL TALIX Z'IN *A I.
• 539

Next we saw him coming down the hill.

KOEL TALIX *A SOY TAL *IL MA TATIK *AWSTIN RAMIREZ.

He was coming down with old mister Augustin Ramirez (who lives up there).

LA *IL, LA *OC KIC' HC'IN COLTIK KUMPRE, HA* Z'IN C'IN *AC'IX NAXTAK YU*N HKUMPRE, BAN *ILA HIATA* I, TUM PE YU*N BOLUBEN XCI.

When we went in to begin our work, compadre, my comadre's little girl came up and said, "Come and see my uncle, he's gone crazy."

TU*N TU LA SPAS XKUT, HUHU TONC YAK WOLWUNEL TA SORAL XK'OK--XK'OKIX TA *AK'EL HILEL *ILI LOK' I, X K'AL NAXTAK XCI, *AA XKUT, XK'O KAK' HIL Z'IN HSAKO KUMPRE, TAL--LOK'ON TAL Z'IN TAL KIL.

"Why?" I said, "what happened?" "I don't know," she said, "but he is running around in the street." "All right," I said. I went to leave my bean sack and went to see.

*E LOK'IX K'AL NAXTAK *A LI* WUZUL HIL Z'IN TE YAK'EL E.

Well, he had gone out again, and the man who brought him home was sitting here.

LA TUN TU LA APAS KUMPRE TU*N TUT'IL *ILE ME MAXAKUX TE*K *AWO*TAN X*UTOT, HU*U YU*N XBONIX TA HNA, YU*N XBONIX TA HNA XCI.

They said to him, "What's the matter, compadre, why don't you sober up?" "No, I'm going to my house," he said, "I'm going to my house now."

TU*N XK'OKATIX TA HNATIK I, TUT'A TONC MOEM TA AHOL HONC I, BAN TA*LANIX X*UTOT, HICUK ABI XCI, LA * ILI MA SK'AN HONC *EHK HATE YU*N YA KIK'TIK TAL NAXTAK E.

"You've already left our house," they told him, "why are you all mixed up in your head? Go and lie down." "All right," he said, but then he didn't want us to bring him back again.

273*
•539 TONC YA X*AN LO*EL.

He just went rushing out.

LA *OC HZ'USTIK Z'IN NA I, HA* Z'IN HKUMRE SME* CIK I, *OC SPAS HSEHT XAN Z'IN LIMON SOK SAKAL *ASKAL I, YA*BE Z'IN.

Then we got him inside the house and closed the door, and my comadre, Francisca's mother, came to make some more lemon and sugar and gave it to him right away.

SNITBE Z'IN LI* TA SOL I, TIK'IL YA*BE TAL, LA YUC' TAL Z'IN, *E *IK'A LA K'AEL, HA* Z'IN TATA* I, KUNIK TUT*A HIC KAPAS AMETO X*UTOT, KOH XCI, TAL Z'IN XC'UNBE TAL Z'IN TATA* I.

Then she rubbed it in here on his head, she gave it all to him. He came drunk, they say he was carried. Then his father came and said, "Come on, why are you behaving like this?" "All right," he said. Then he obeyed his father and came.

HAYUN TE TAL TA*LUK Z'IN, *E TONC--TONC XWOLETA XLOK' TONC LI* YA XBAHT LI* TA YUT K'ALTIK I, X*OC TAL *ABI XTAL, XWOLET YA XLOK' YA LA XBAHT XAN.

He came in and lay down, and then--then he rushed out there in the back yard, then came in, then rushed out, going away again.

YA LA X*AN LO*EL, TAL Z'IN HKUMPRE STAT CIK I, TAL Z'IN HAL *IL HKUMPRE STAT HWAN LI* I, TAL SKANANTAIK Z'IN.

He rushed out again. Then my compadre, Francisca's father, came, and then my compadre, Juan's father, here. They came to take care of him.

MA*K XLOK'AT, X*UTOT, *E MA*K YUC'IX Z'IN *A TRAWI SOK TOXANIX METI YU*N MOEM TA SOL *A.

"Don't leave," they told him. "He hasn't been drinking just now, he's just crazy in the head."

273*
• 539 MA* ME YU*N LAH TO KAWUC' HAL TRAWI YA X*UTOT, MA* KUC'IX *A TO XANIX XPAXYAHON *A XCI.

"I don't know if you were still drinking trago," they said to him. "I wasn't drinking, I was just walking around," he said.

YA KA*Y HONC HATE LI* YA XLIHK TA KO*TAN I XCI.

"I feel something that begins here around my heart," he said.

TONC XLILUN HON KO*TAN I, *E TA*LAN ABI X*UTOT, ME K'AN TA*LUK KUMPRE TONC YA X*ANLO*EL, OC HZ'AHBETIK HA TE SOL E.

"My heart is beating irregularly," he said. "Lie down," they told him. Do you think he wanted to lie down, compadre? He rushed out again. We went and threw water on his head.

TONAX MA SK'AN HATE YU*N HZ'AHBETIK SOL E, H* Z'IN TATA* Z'IN I, BA SK'OPON TAL Z'IN HKUMPRE STAT KANTLARYA NUN TA *AHK'OL E.

He didn't like it that we threw water on his head. Then his father went to speak to my compadre, Candelaria's father, who lives up above.

XK'O SK'OPON TAL Z'IN ABI, TAL, TU*N TYLA PAS KUMPRE X*UTOT, MA*YUK *E YA TONC MA HNA* TY*TAY TONC HA* YAN HONC HOL I XCI, SOK KO*TAN XCI.

He came and said, "What happened to you, compadre?" "Nothing, I don't know, but my head is very bad," he said, "and so is my heart," he said.

TU*N TULAPA XUT--TU*N TEME YU*N *AY HAL *IL LIMON I, ME *AY HAL *IL SAKAL *ASKAL I, *AK'A TAL SEHTUK NALUK XCI, KO X*OC HPASTIK Z'IN.

"What happened to you?" he said. "If there is a little lemon and some sugar, give him some, then we will fix him up," he said.

LAH YUC' ABI KUMPRE, *ABA ME *AY AWU*N BAK' MELON, ME *AY AWU*N *ILI SAKAL *IXIM E, ZAHAL *IXIM E SPAS HIL *EHK KUMPRE, *OC YAK' HUC'TIK Z'IN.

273 539 He drank it, compadre. "If you have a melon seed, if you have some white corn and some red corn, give them to me," he said. "We have them," they said. "With these, I will fix up my compadre," he said, and he gave us these things to grind.

*OC SBALI Z'IN.

Then he went in to sweep him [or fan him].

*E TUT LA K'AN *UHTUK KUMPRE TONC YILEL.

Well, compadre, how could that cure him? He was just the same.

*OC HZ'USTIK Z'IN NA *ILI, TONC MA* KA*TIK LOK'UK Z'IN.

After that we shut the house and wouldn't let him out.

TAL Z'IN HKUMPRE STAT CIK I, *E TAL SKANTAIK Z'IN, *E BAK'IN *IL TY KAPASIK *ILI BAN--TU MAK XBA K'OPONBON TAL HPAYRINO NUN TA HEHC E XCI.

Then my compadre, the father of Francisca, came to take care of him and saw what he was doing and he said, "Why don't you go and speak with my padrino over on the other side?"

*ABA TAK ABI, ME YUN KAK'AN XCI, YAK YA XLAHONIX, PE YU*N HA* YA SIHT' HONC YO*TAN KUMPRE.

"Go and get him, do you want to?" he said. "Yes, I'm dying," he said. His heart was swelling, compadre.

*ILI BAHT Z'IN *EHK TATA* I, BA SK'AN TAL PAWOR Z'IN HTAZNARYOS NUN TA HEHC E.

So his father went then to ask the favor of my padrino over on the other side.

TAL Z'IN *EHK ABI, *ILI, TEME HIC ABI YATO XBA KIC' TAL C'IN HLOHTUK C'IN KIXIM HIL TA K'ALTIK KU*UN, K'AHBILIX HILEL BAN--YA XTAL KIL PERE BAN PASBONIX *A HAL *ILI NI* KAXAN LEA BA* XAWIC' TA *ORA, HUC'A HUNUK POKET XCILA.

My padrino came, and he said, "I'm going to get a little of my corn that I left in the field, it's already cut. I'll come and see, but go meanwhile and get me some cattail tips and grind them into a ball."

273*
• 539 ... TAL Z'IN *EHK HAL *IL HTAZNARYOS ABI, LA *OC TA MAKLEYEL Z'IN.

My padrino came then and went in to pulse him.

*E YU*N HA* MA*K STA HAL TRAWI, TONC, TONC HA* K'EHEL *AY HATE XC'ULEL E, TONC HA* XMOIX LO*L TA SOL YU*N YIK' TRAWI XCI.

"The aguardiente does not sit well with him," he said. "His spirit has left him, and he is crazy in the head. His spirit has left him because of the odor of the aguardiente," he said.

HA* XMOIX LO*L TA SOL ABI, HAYUN TONC HA* K'EHEL *AY HATE XC'ULEL E, TEME YU*N--YU*N YAK YA*BE XAN HUNUK K'AHAL, CE*UK K'AHAL E, YU*N MA* YKIX WOKOL XMILOT *A XCI.

"It has gone to his head, so his spirit has left him. If this goes on another day or two, it could easily kill him."

YAK'WIL TU*L YA XBAHT E, *E KANANTAIK M XCI, HICUK ABI XCI--*E TONAX MA XTEHK *A HONC KUMPRE TONC XWOLETA XAHC.

"Well, we'll see how he does. Take good care of him," he said. "All right," I said. But he didn't stop, compadre, he just jumped up.

HATE YU*N XWOLETA XAHC E, Z'IN NAX YA STEN KOEL, TA*LAN TUM PE *IBA *AYON X*UTOT Z'IN.

And when he jumped up, they held him down. "Lie down, I'm here," they told him.

*A YU*N XBON TA HNA, XBON TA HNA, TUM PE TA ANAIX *AYAT BA* TO XBAT *ILI X*UT--

"I'm going home, I'm going home," he said. "But you are in your house, where are you going now?" they said.

*E YU*N *AY MAC'A XTAL *A, Z'AM MA MAC'A *AY HTUKELTIK NAX TA*LAN TONC KAWAK'ALANON TA WOKOL *O*L HBA *EHUK X*T--LA X*OC TA*LUK, TY WOKOL HONC XNEL *AHK'BAL Z'IN KUMPRE.

273
• 539 "Someone is coming," he said. "No, there's nobody coming, we're here by ourselves. Lie down, you're making me suffer, I feel weak also," they said to him. Then he lay down, but what suffering we went through that night, compadre.

YU*N TE YAL TE*K Z'IN YO*TAN I, *E *OC KA*BETIK XAN YA*L SAKAL *ASKAL SOK LIMON I, *A YUC' XAN TE*K TEME YOU*N *AY TO SK'AHAL TRAWI XCI, HICUK XCUT, LA LEK HA* YA YUC' XAN Z'IN *A KUMPRE XCE*BAL K'AHAL Z'IN YOXEBAL K'AHAL Z'IN, TAL XAN Z'IN *EHK HAL HOSE *ERNANTES NUN E.

As the swelling of his heart went down, we went in to give him more sugar water with lemon. "He should drink more of this, for the heat of the trago is still there," he said. "All right," I said. He drank this then, compadre. Two or three days later, Jose Hernández came here.

HA* *IL TU*UN XBAH SAK' TAL SZEK *ALAL I, YA--KAN TA HIL *A TAT I XKUT *EHK HC'IN *AC'IX I, *E HICUK ABI XCI.

"That one--why?--I'm going to wash the baby's diapers, you stay here and take care of your father," I said to the little girl. "All right," she said.

LEK WUZUL K'AL TA TI*NAIL *A, *AY XCUNKIL SOL, TONC *O*L SBA HONAX.

At the moment he was sitting in front of the house with a handkerchief around his head, he was very sad.

HA* Z'IN *EHK HOSE BI PERSA LA K'AX YIK'.

Then that Jose came by and insisted on taking him along.

HATE TAL HULUKON TAL E, HA* AKIL HA* NITBILIX TAL YU*N *A HKUMRE SME* CIK I, YA LA XLOK'IX NAXTAK *A.

When I got back, I saw my comadre, Francisca's mother, pulling him to keep him from leaving again.

HA* Z'IN HOSE I, TU*N MA XAWIK'BON LO*L TAT MA* XIK'BON MA* KAWIL HWOKOTIK TE MA K'AN LA HUKIX *A METO TY WOKOL KUX AMETO LA *IK'EL XAN LO*EL, TE YU*NUK YAK XBON K, WOKOL *AY HA ZAM E.

273* 539 And then to Jose, "Don't take him away, sir, don't take him. Don't you see how we have suffered? He was going to die. He got better with great difficulty, after many efforts. He's not well."

HE* *AYIL ABI TUME C'IN TO *EHUK YU*N TONC MA XC'UN TUT'A KALBETIK I, KAWAY HATE XMALAWANIX HAL TRAWI LA XLOK'AT XAN, HAMAL YU*N MA*K AWA*Y TUT'A HALBOTAT HIL E, HA* KAK'AN XCAMATA TRAW, PERE YU*N MA XU* HONA XCI.

Ay, dios, why should I worry? He's not a little boy. He just doesn't do what we tell him. "You know that the trago is killing you, but you go out again as if you didn't know what they told you. You just want to die of trago." "But I can't stand it, I feel so bad," he said.

273* 757 In order to avoid consequences of drinking as severe as those detailed above, some men procure medicine designed to reduce the probability of their drinking when the occasion arises. We have already cited a text fragment in which such a "cure" is discussed. There, some doubt was expressed as to the medicine's effectiveness, but Candelario, who had just taken it, was not willing to risk dying by drinking while it was in effect. In another text fragment, more evidence in favor of the "cure" is offered as follows:

273* 539 I. HA* PERSA XPOXIL I PE MA HNA* ME *AY WAN XPOXIL TAT *E MA*YUK *E PE XCIIK HONAX.

Some medicine is necessary, but I don't know if there is one, sir. Many people say there isn't.

M. *AY NIX *A YUN TOL STOHOL.

There is, but it's expensive.

273* 539 I.. TOYOL *E HA* NAX A HNALI HKUMPRE STAT PEYRO LI* TA SPAT HNA HUN HU O HUN TA TRENTA KWARENTA TU*L A STOHO XPOX E.

Expensive, yes. My compadre, Pedro's father, here behind my house--I don't know, it seems that he paid thirty or forty [pesos] for the medicine.

TE*HA* CAM SOK.

He almost died of it.

V. MA HNA* BA* LA YIC' TAL WA*.

I don't know where he got it, ay, dios.

I. YU*C'O LEK HONC *A YUC' Z'IN XPOX E.

He was really drunk when he took the medicine.

TYO CAMEN NEL *AHK'BAL

After that, he was stunned the whole day.

V. SAMEL TAL XENEL YA*TIK.

He was vomiting at the same time.

I. *OC *ORASYON LA LIHK XENEL E, LA SYETE LA *OCO LA MANYANA MA*K X LAMA.

About the time of the oración [evening] he began to vomit; at seven or eight in the morning he hadn't settled down yet.

E HAHCON CE BELTA X K'O KIL ... HKUY TA TONC A XKEN X LAH, *E HUHU KUMRE YUN YU*C'OH SMA POX YA TO X LAMA XCIO.

I got up twice and went over to see him . . . I thought he was just vomiting and would die, but he said, "I don't know, comadre, it's just that I took the medicine, it's going to go away soon."

PERE--*E PERE MA* BA YUC'.

But he hasn't drunk since.

273* 539 M. *A MA* BA YUC', HA* XANIX TEME YUN A SMAK TE*K E.

Ah, he hasn't drunk since. It's good if it stops him for a while.

I. *E HAYUN HIC A KAL, TEME SPAS TE*K POX TU*L A YUC' TATIK SEKRETARYI.

That's what I mean, if it works like the remedy the Secretary took.

*IPAL HA*WIL TE*K MA*K YUC' HAL A YUC'BE XPOXIL *ILE.

He hasn't drunk for many years, he took medicine.

M. HIC STUK *ILE HUH*U.

You're right about him.

HA* TONIX PERSA STUK C'IN POX LEHTIK (YUC'E)

Those of us who drink are very much interested in such a medicine.

273* 757 The general characteristics of the medicine for reducing the strength and number of one's drinking performances, as perceived by Aguacatenangueros, are the physical effects if one continues to drink after taking it. Illness and even death may be expected, as has been suggested in the texts cited. The medicine thus overrides all social and psychological "reasons" for drinking. One can tell whether or not the medicine is effective by attempting to continue to drink. If one wishes to drink and feels no unusually bad effects therefrom, it is clear that the medicine is not working.

273* 753 Aguardiente is illness-producing either directly because of its substance, or symbolically because it is one of the media

273* monial drinking pattern, the curer, no matter what his age rela-
755 tive to the age of others present, is served first.[1]

273* Drinking by participants in the curing ceremony appears
539 in several text fragments as follows:

MAC'ATIK X*ULAH NAL YA HUC' TRAWO X*OC SPAS POX YU*N HIC *AY SPERSA *A.

Those who cure drink trago first before they go in to cure in order to increase their strength.

SPISIL YO*TAN X*OC TA POSTAWANEH.

So that they will be confident when they go in to cure.

HA* LA YAK' BALOR HAL TRAWI.

It's the aguardiente that gives strength.

PERO *AY H*OLIL MA*K YUC'IK TRAWO HIC NAX YA SPAS POSTO, HA* HIC YA SPASIK POX H*ULELTIK *ABI.

But there are some who don't drink trago before they cure, that's the way they are.

Also:

M. TU*L LIHK YU*C'E.

How did they begin to drink?

C. *E HA* XK'O YILIK HAL XC'IN YAHTAL YO*TAN HKUMRE SME* HOSEPA NUN E.

They went to attend the delivery of my comadre, Josefa's mother, over there.

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[1] From this relative positioning of drinking we conclude
[756] [554] that the role of curer in the curing situation has more status than the role of old man. In most situations, as has been previously noted, the oldest man present is generally served first.

6: Metzger E-5 (no date) 1964 NV9, Tzeltal NV9
Aguacatenango

273* HA* XK'O--TE NEL *AHK'BALTIK KU*NTIK *A HAL *AHK'ABEI
•539

They went over there--we spent the night there last night.

HNUX MA*LAH KUMPRE.

She almost died, compadre.

CAMEN HULEL, LOM LA YAK' SWOKOL.

(The baby) was born dead, she suffered for nothing.

J. ... HA* Z'INABI *E SUNUL *AHK'BAL, MA*A LAHUK *OXE*BUK LITRO I SUNUL *AHK'BAL I.

During the night we drank about three liters, the whole night.

M. *E HAYEBEX *ABI.

And how many of you were there?

J. *E HAYEBOTIK, *E CANE(BOTIK *A SOK CENCO NUN TA HEMEL E, SOK CANTUL *ANZTIK--

How many? Four of us, with Ausencio from over in the valley, and four women.

*E *ULIK STUKEL T'UXAHIK LEK, HA*Z'IN HO*NE MA*BA LOM T'UXAHON LEK ... XLOK' K'AHAL LOK'ONTAL I.

They all got so drunk they fell down. I didn't fall down myself . . . I left as the sun was coming up.

755 The curing ceremony is a public performance, the audience of which is constituted of the sick person's near consanguineals, 273* affinals, ritual kin and neighbors. The males in this audience-- 755 which varies in size depending on the estimated severity of the illness--pace their drinking with that of the curer. He in turn is dependent on the host who initially arranged with him to make the cure for the supply of aguardiente. It is characteristic

273* 764 serving of a meal to them and others who are present. Up to this point drinking is light, this being associated with the fact that a number of tasks are being completed which require sobriety. After the midday meal is served, the rezadora comes and prays with the women over the body. The body is then placed in the casket, the lid is nailed down, and it is carried off to the cemetery, about two kilometers distant. Once the casket is placed in the grave, and the grave begun to be filled, the intensity of drinking sharply increases, both men and the near women relatives (wife, mother, daughter) of the deceased, drinking. This increased rate of drinking continues as the funeral party returns to the house of the deceased and there continues to drink through most of the night.

273* 539 764

M. LA TU *ORA BA MUHUK Z'IN ... HATE *ALAL E.
When did you go to bury the child?

J. TU *ORA *AHK'BALTIKIX *A LOK'OKOTIK K'AL, SAPET K'INAL I.
We went as night was coming, about seven at night.
WOKOL CIKNAH TAL HONA.
It was difficult to find our way back on the trail.

M. WUC'IK TAL HUHUNUX ABI.
Everybody was a little drunk coming back.

J. HAYUN LA HKA*BETIK C'IN HUHUNUX Z'IN.
We gave everybody a little bit.

*273
• 539
764

LA HT'UXAH Z'IN YAN I.

The rest of them fell down afterward.

HAYUN LA HT'UXAH Z'IN, HUN TA Z'IN KUMPRETIK Z'IN STAT *ANTON I, *E *ULEM HONC SAK'INAL Z'IN I.

They fell down afterward, and it seems that our compadre, Antonio's father, was good and drunk by morning.

Many of the males at the funeral fiesta continue to drink on the following day, though in other settings, and the near male relatives of the deceased will continue to drink for as long as a week after the burial--to calm the sadness of their hearts, as they say. The aguardiente for the funeral fiesta is provided by the members of the household in which the dead person lived and/or by the lineal descending relatives. On succeeding days, the men who continue to drink secure their aguardiente under the normal rule of laissez faire drinking (informal drinking).

273* 539 Speaker for the old ayuntamiento: YA NAX HIC YA XLOK'ON K'AL TO, MA WAN TOHUK NAX YA XHAHCON L*EL.

Today, mother-father [i.e., respected] New Authorities, Authorities who are entering office, it is not possible simply to leave, it's not correct simply to get up and leave.

*AY WAN HBAL HMAY, *AY WAN HBAL HSIGARRO, BA* WAN K'AN KA*BAT HIL TA *AWO*TAN, BA* WAN K'AN HMELBAT HIL TA *AWAHC'ALEL, PORKE SYEMPRE *AY XCAMELAL C'IN UN POKO KUMPIRAL LA HPASTIK YU*N *OCAT.

Perhaps I have some tobacco, perhaps I have a cigarette which I can leave in your heart, which I can leave in your body, since we still feel the hangover from the exchange of gifts which we made because you entered [to take your cargos].

HICON *EHUK, YU*N LOK'ON, HIC KOSTUMBRE YU*N TEHKLUM, HIC KOSTUMBRE YU*N HME*TIK HTATIK.

I, too, am leaving office. It's the custom of the town. It's the custom of our ancestors.

AX TYEMPO, AX *ORA, MA HO*KOTIK NAX LA HLIHKESTIK TAL, SINOKE *AX TYEMPO, *AX *ORA, KIC 'OHTIK TAL KOSTUMBRE YU*N HNAL HC'IEL, HNAL HLOK'EL.

It's been a long time, a long time, we did't invent [these customs], rather we have had these customs for a long time, since those who were first born, since those who first came out.

CAMIX WAN, LAHIX WAN, PERO HO*TIK E, MA*K XC'AY TE KOSTUMBRE KU*NTIK E.

Perhaps they died, perhaps they are finished, but we don't lose our customs.

BA* WAN K'AN *AXIC'BON C'IN HPISUK, C'IN HUNUK KOPA KA*BAT HIL TA *AWO*TAN, KA*BAT HIL TA *AWAHC'ALEL, PARAKE HIC XK'IXNAH AWO*TAN, XK'IXNAH AC'IC'EL, *ABAK'ETAL, PARAKE YU*N KONTENTA XLOK'ON BAEL, KONTENTA XBON.

Where it is possible to receive it, a small measure, a shot glass, I am going to give your heart, so that it will warm your body, so that it will warm your heart, warm your blood and your flesh, so that I can leave contented, go contented.

273*
539 YAL, MA*YAL HIL TA *AWO*TAN, TY YIPAL LA HTAH TAL SOK HZO*BLEHAL, HYOMLEHAL, TAL KAK' HIL TE *ERRAMYENTA.

Either it goes down or it doesn't go down, that which I have procured. With all of my group I came to leave the tools [i.e., the town equipment for road construction which is entrusted to the ayuntamiento].

HA* XC'IN KUMPIRALIL, *AY WAN HBAL HMAY, *AY WAN HBAL HSIGARRO, KA*BAT HNUXUK, HTE*BUK.

This is my little gift, a bit of tobacco, a cigarette, I give you a little.

ME YAL, MA* YAL TA *AWOTAN, HIC XTOHUB KO*TAN *EHK *A, HIC HMELZA*AN HBAHTIK *A, HICON *EHUK, YU*N ME XLOK'ONIX BAEL, YA ME XBONIX, HA* ME YU*N HIC YA KALBAT HME* HTAT *AWKTORIDA.

Whether it goes down well or it does not go down well in your heart, I am complying also. Thus we arrange things. I, too, am going, now I'm going, that's why I am telling you this, respected Authorities.

In response to this speech, the spokesman for the new ayuntamiento replies: BA* ME LA *AWIC' HME* HTAT, MA ME *AK TUTA HK'AN, MA ME *AK TUTA YA HK'ANBAT, MA ME *AK TUT'I LA *AHAM *AWO*TAN, TUTA LA *AHAM *ATI*.

Where did you get it, mother-father? I'm not asking for anything, I don't have anything to give you, there is nothing. You opened your heart, you opened your lips.

*AY LAH HBAL *AMAY *AY LA HBAL *ASIGARRO YUN LAH KAMELBON TA KO*TAN YUN LAH KAMELBON TA KAHC'ALEL TUYIPAL ZO*BOLON, YOMOLON LI* TA C'UL KABILTA LI* TA C'UL HUSGADO, YA KIC'BAT *ENTREGAL.

You have tobacco, you have a cigarette to give to my heart, to give to my body, as we are gathered here in the sacred town hall, in the sacred courthouse. I am going to receive what you are giving me.

HOKOL *AWAL YA WAN HZ'UN KAHREHIDOR *A SPIS *A YAK' TU YIPAL WUSTO *AWUN E, TU YIPAL *ATAH TAL.

273*
539 Thank you very much. Perhaps I will name my regidor to measure the aguardiente, the amount which is your pleasure, the amount which you procured.

PERO MA ME YAK HK'AN, BA ME LA *AWIC'IX *A, BA ME TALIX *AWUN *A, STOHOL ME TAK'IN STOHOL ME SENTABO, WOKOL ME HTATIK WOKOL ME *A KIC'TIK TALEL, MA ME STOHUB C'UL TRAWO, TOYOL TE*K STOHOL, PURO SK'OP TAK'IN.

But I'm not asking for anything. Where did you get it? Where did you bring it from? This requires money, this requires pennies. It costs us to get it, it costs us to bring it. We can't pay for the trago. It's very expensive. One gets it only with money.

PERO KOMO LA *AHAM, LA *AHAM *ATI* LA *AHAM *AWO*TAN HOKOL *AWAL.

But since you opened your mouth, you opened your heart, thank you very much.

YA HZAKBAT, HA*YUN *IBAY, *IL CA* TUL PERSONA, YUN YA SPIS, YUN YA YA*BUKOTIK TA KO*TANTIK, YA*BOTIK TA KAC'LELTIK.

I'm going to receive it. Here are the two persons who will measure it, so that it can be given to our hearts, so that it can be given to our bodies.

HOKOL *AWAL HME* HTAT *AWTORIDA SOK SALYENTE, YA ME KIC' *ENTREGAL, COTLANIK HZ'INUK.

Thank you very much, respected Authorities who are leaving. I'm going to receive what you bring, sit down for a while.

MA WAN HO*KON NAX K'AN KAK' TA KO*TAN PAHAL YAH TUNTESTIK PAHAL YA HMEL TA KO*TANTIK YUN WAN HIC XKUXLEH KO*TANTIK *A, YUN HIC X *AK'BIL LAH KO*TANTIK *A.

Perhaps I won't just put it in my own heart. Equally let us drink, equally drink a round for our hearts, in order to sober our hearts, in order to make our hearts happy.

HOKOL *AWAL HME* HTAT YA ME HZAK, YA ME KIC', *AK'A PERSONETIK, HMELA TA KO*TANTIK MAHTANTIK YUN HMETIK HTATIK YUN LOK'IX, NELIX HUN HA*WIL K'INAL HOKOL *AWAL HME* HTAT YA HZAK YA KIC' LEK *AY.

273*
• 539 Thank you, respected ones, I am going to take it, I am going to have it. Give it to the persons, a round for our hearts, the gift of the respected ones who are leaving, their year is finished. Thank you, respected ones, I will receive it. Good.

Ceremonial drinking is seen to have side effects which are as clearly patterned and recurrent as the central performances themselves. As drinking "warms the heart," it relaxes control over interpersonal behavior. Warning against this side effect is given in the following text fragments:

The counsel of an elder to the new members of the ayuntamiento:

MA ME *AWUC' *IPAL TRAWO PORKE *AY ME MAHEL CUKEL YA ME XTAL TA TOYOL, YA ME XTAL TA YALEL.

Don't drink too much. For there are crimes to be settled, great ones or lesser ones may come.

ME LAÉ AWUC' TRAWO PORKE MALYEL ME ASK'AN, YA ME STAL HUN *ORDEN YA ME XTAL HUN KARTA XTAL HUN *OFISIO.

It's not good to drink trago, because you must wait, an order might come, a letter might come, a duty might come.

*AY ME TOYOL XTAL, *AY ME YALEL YA XTAL.

Much work or little work may come.

HA* ME YUN KUXA *AWO*TAN, MA ME MILABA TA YAKBEL PARA KE HIC ZAM KAWIL TE HUSGADO ZAM KAWIL TE *AWUNTIKIL.

For this reason, stay sober. Don't kill yourselves drinking. Thus you can contentedly care for the town, contentedly watch over your children.

Again, in the counsel of an elder to the wives of new members of the ayuntamiento:

273* HICAT *EHK *ANZETIK, *ABA ME SMAZ', *ABA ME YOT, PARAKE YU*N
• 539 YU*N MA XWI*NAH XC'UHT.

And you, wives, give him his pozole, give him his tortilla, so that he won't be hungry.

ME XYAKUB MA ME HAK'BE SK'OP, *ATA*LUK XCEBAL K'AHAL XTAL YIL SKABILTA.

If he gets drunk, don't provoke him, the next day he will come back to the cabildo.

PERO TEME HA*T PUKUHAT *ANZETIK, TEME HA*T K'AHK'AT, ENTONSE TE X*ILIN TE WINIK, REPENTA SMAHAT, REPENTA XYUTAT, KOMO *CEM TA TRAWO, REPENTA ME XK'AHK'UB SOL TE *AMAMILAL, TE SENYOR *AHENTE, TE SENYOR HWES.

But if you women are bad, if you are mean, then the man gets angry and he may well strike you, he may well scold you, since he is drunk, he may well get hot-headed, your husband the president, or the judge.

Once again, the counsel of an elder to the community at large:

MA ME XAPASIK PLET, ZAM XK'OPOHEX, KOMO *ERMANO, KOMPAGRE, KOMAGRE.

Don't fight, converse in the manner of brothers, compadres, comadres.

YA KAWUC'IK TRAWO K'AYEHINAN, YAKUBAN PASA KONTENTO SOK *ATRAWO.

If you drink aguardiente, sing, get drunk, make yourselves happy with the aguardiente.

*ANSIKE LA LAH SZAKAT TRAWO, *ABA YAK'AT HIL TE MAC'A LAH YA*Y SOL TA TRAWO.

When once you are drunk, go and take home the one whose trago has gone to his head.

*ABA YA*BAT TA SNA, HA* MERO *ERMANO BI.

Take him to his house, like a true brother.

273
539 MA*YU*NUK LAH YIL TE XYAKUBAT, SMAHAT ENTONSE MULILME, MA ME HK'AN.

It's not right when you see that he is drunk to hit him, that's a crime, I don't like it.

Other side effects of drinking, these latter associated with prolonged informal drinking, are also negatively evaluated. In one text fragment we find the following exchange:

C. MA*Y K'AHAL STUK--K'IN E, XTA TAK STOHOL KA*ALTIK.

There's a fiesta coming up. I'll have to get some money for aguardiente.

M. PERSA, *A HA* NAX STOHOL *A STUK HAL.YA XLIHK *OCEL *A*TEL I.

There isn't any choice, we have to look for work to raise money for trago.

C. PERO MA*YUK AWUC' HA* TE MA *AY.

But you haven't been drinking?

M. YA KA*BE *EHUK.

I've been drinking.

C. YAK PE COPOLIX MA* HA*CUK XTUL*L NAME TAL E.

Yeah, but you haven't been drinking like you used to.

M. MAY LAH TO NAX KA*BE EHK *ABI.

It's not been long since I had a good drunk.

PIM YA YUC' HAL TRAWI.

I drink a lot.

MA TO BA* YA KUC'IX *A STUK *ORA ILI.

I haven't drunk yet in this fiesta.

MAYUK, YA STI CAMEL TRAWI.

273*
• 539

The trago is making me ill.

C. YAK, *IK *IXANWAN *EHUK.

That's right, it's bad for you.

HO*N E, *AX K'AHAL MA* BA KA*BE *EHUK, HUN TA HA*TO LA KA*BE YU*N TO *ENERO TAL E.

I haven't drunk for days, not since January.

*IX YAK' BETIL TONC, *E SOK TONC MA*K XLOK' TA NA*EL KA*TELTIK YU*N MAXTAK.

We got into debt and forget our work.

MA* ZAMUKIX *A.

It's not good.

M. PURA CAMELIX YUKUKOTIK *A.

We just get sick.

C. HA* NAX ZAM *A TE *OCEM TRAWO *A E.

But it's beautiful when the trago is in us.

M. YIP *AK'BIL KO*TANTIK SOK *ABI.

It's the only time we're really happy.

C. YA X*AWUNAT HONC *A STUBI.

You shout a lot when you are drunk.

M. XLOK' AZE*EH YUN STUBI.

You laugh when you are drunk.

PERE HA* Z'IN TEME KUX K'AL Z'IN E, *E YUN HA HAL HUHUNUXANIX MA*K XLAHOTIK YU*N Z'IN I.

But afterwards when we are getting over a big drunk, we come close to dying.

273* concludes by observing that the after-effects of drinking are inevitably bad.

Thus while the drinking performances themselves are highly satisfying experiences, the consequences of drinking may be illness, economic loss, and possible death. Such consequences of any next drinking performance do not, however, appear to prevent that drinking performance from taking place; even though the consequences are the public knowledge of all the men in Aguacatenango.

273* 562 593 The woman's view of the ceremonial drinking-informal drinking sequences is long-suffering (but not necessarily uncomplaining). Women are constrained to complain relatively little as their husbands become ill or abusive and their household resources dwindle. The woman who berates or strikes or abandons her drunken husband is criticized, and desertion of a husband by a wife is never attributed either to his drinking per se nor to his drunken abuse.

273 539 In the following excerpts from text, a wife complains and her husband belittles or laughs off her concern time after time.

I. MA* LO*ILUK IX A X YAKUB HONC *A ATATAI, *Z YES YA*TEL.
Your uncle gets drunk a lot, it's his occupation.

V. HE HE HE.
Ha, Ha, ha!

273* I. TUT'A C'IN ZAM A HTAHTIK, *E TONC SNA* MA*K SNA* A STI*,
• 539 *AY WI*NAL A X CAM *A, *E LA BA* LA X BA HTAHTIK TAL
EHUK, MA X KILTIK BA C'IKIL, TOH XAMIX TE POHOL *A
YA LA IX CAMIX TA WI*NAL WA* KERE*.

The good things that we find for him, sometimes he remembers to eat and sometimes he doesn't, sometimes he's dying of hunger and then how are we going to find him, we don't know where he is. There he is lying there alone, dying of hunger, ay, dios.

V. HE HE!

Ha, ha!

I. ZAM XC'IN K'U* XC'IN PAK' X LOK'BAEL, BOTOX TA *AHC'AL A.

He goes out with a nice shirt and comes back all muddy.

... K'AX Z'IN SK'IN HALME*TIK I ... TONC LA *ULEM TA WAYEL XHOL TA TE* HC'IX STUK YOK E, NUN KA*Z'AL TA TE* NUN TA TI* MAK TE* E.

. . . After the fiesta of the Virgin of the Nativity . . . he was dead drunk, asleep with his foot caught in the fence, there he was hung on the fence.

V. HE HE HE, MA*Y YAHC'ALEL STUK ABI HI.

Ha, ha, ha! There wasn't any mud there!

I. ... HATE X TAL KUXUK YO*TAN TAT, YUN YAUBEN, YAUBEN.

. . . When he sobers up, sir, he's very thin and weak.

V. *E YUN MA*K XWE*OTIK WA*.

It's because I don't eat, ay, dios.

I. X BAHT TA LE *A*TEL E MA X U*IX YU*UN *O*L SBA.

He goes to work and he can't do it any more, poor thing.

HUN K'AHAL CE* K'AHAL YUC' E HA* MAX TE*K ABI, PERE *ILI WAXKE* K'AHAL, BALNE* K'AHAL, HUK* K'AHAL.

273*
• 539 If he would only drink for just one or two days--but he drinks eight, nine, seven days at a time.

TIHIHTIK *AY KUX YO*TAN CE* K'AHAL *A *OXE* K'AHAL *A X TAL AWA*I X YAKUB IX A X LOK' TAL TA KABILTA *A.

And he drinks often. He'll be sober for two or three days, and the first thing I know he comes home from the Cabildo drunk again.

HA* TE X LIHKESOK I.

It's there that he begins [to drink].

M. HA* X TU*L BA*Y PARTA I.

If there is a case to be settled, for example.

I. ... LOM MA SNA* TU*L X K'OPOH *EHK TA YAKBEL I MA SNA* TU X YAL, *E KE TAL ME XC'UNIK E, *AY XC'UNIK IX LEK--K'AN SMILON IX TA *AHTAL *O*TAN E--

. . . And also, he doesn't know how he should talk, when he's drunk he doesn't know what he's saying, and what if they believe him? Some people believe him--I'm nearly dying with worry.

*E YUN LA YIC', YUN LA X BA SMILIK IX, P'EKEL *AY NUN X BA YAWTIK TA KABILTE.

[They say] that they're going to kill him, that it's clear, that they're going to shout it in the Cabildo [i.e., that he has threatened witchcraft].

V. *EHE--MA CIKO WASKIS STUBI, *E YOBRA NIX *A *ILE TONC PUKUHIK WA*

Oh--that old Francisco Vasquez, he's always like that, they're bad, ay, dios.

I. X BAHT TA MUK' YU*NIK, LAPE HAYUN TONC HA*C ME X LIHK YAK'ON TA *AHTAL *O*TAN, HAYUN HUN TA TONC HA* X K'UB *AHTAL *OTAN HAYUN TONC A X *IPAH Z'IN HCAMEL I.

Those people really believe it. That's why I'm beginning to worry so, that's why the pain is getting worse, that's why my illness is getting worse.

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I. ... PE *ILI LA STA HUNUK KWARTA, LA STA *OLILUK, HUNUK LITRO SOK SHOTAK E YUN TY*P' IX *ABI YUN C'AY IX SHOL *ABI.

. . . But if he gets a quarter of a liter, a half-liter, a liter with his friends, with that he is stunned, he loses his senses.

V. SOK MA*YUK IX LEK SOLOL KY*N HO*N E, *OLIL XANIX LA X YAKUBON.

I don't have a good head any more, I get drunk on only a half-liter.

MA HNA* TU*UN YAMEL I XAYUB HC'I*C'ELTIK, MA HA*CUK NAME HAYEBUK X KU*C' *A.

I don't know why, my blood is getting less, it wasn't that way before, I could drink a lot more.

PERE *ORA *ILI YU*N LA--YUN *ORA XANIX A X YAKUBON.

But now--I get drunk very quickly.

... *E *O*L HBAHTIK Z'IN--*E TONC A KIXANTIK *EHK HC'I *C'TELTIK I.

. . . We're sad afterward--and it's bad for our blood.

I. LEK ME TEHK'AH MA* TEHK'AH YUN A XEHTA LO*EL.

Whether he stops or not, he's torn up with vomiting.

V. WA HA HA WA HA HA.

Ay, dios, ha, ha, ha!

TONC A HLE HCAMEL *A SNALYE, PE MA X KA*Y K'OP HICUK *UC WAHA*.

I'm just looking for the damned illness, but I don't obey, just like a tlacuache [small wild animal], ay, dios.

I. HA* *AHTAL *OTANTIK SBA YAKBEL I.

Drunkenness causes a lot of suffering.

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Preface

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And so we shall be able to do what our mothers
did and what our fathers did here where our
Holy Father sees us and our Holy Mother sees us.

From the prayer said at the time of taking offices in the civil hierarchy

In all societies, some of the ideology and behavior of the past persists after their relevance to current problems has ended. How much this continuity eases the absorption of change by providing meaning and motivation and how much it hinders the ability to deal with current issues and to plan for the future is a long-standing social problem. It is of special relevance to developing nations undergoing changes that transform all social institutions. Developing nations have focused their planning on economic change in the hope that other institutions will respond automatically. This hope has not been justified.

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Mexico has shown a growing awareness of the strength to be drawn from its rich cultural heritage in the five decades of development since the revolution. The changes that were transforming the cities a generation ago are now drawing enclaves of Indian populations into the mainstream of national development. In the 1930s government policy was directed toward transforming Indians into modern nationals. Since the 1950s there has been an increasing effort to incorporate Indians without suppressing their distinctive customs and languages. The old melting pot policy has given way to a new policy of selective adaptation.

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For the Indians, adhering to the ways of the ancestors is the means of surviving as a people. Their sense of cultural survival is threatened by the

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Although the town center forms a rough rectangle on Map 1, the people think of it as being a square.[2] This conforms to the cultural ideal of a square applied in house, milpa, village, and probably world, although when anyone is asked about the last, he cautiously answers, "I have heard that it is round." The center is the unit that the people think of when they say *hteklum*, my land or my village. House lots are not sold to outsiders, particularly Ladinos, but the prohibition applies as well to other Indians living within the limits of the township.

The residents of the center identify themselves with the former residents of the two pre-Conquest sites occupying the hill of Amawitz[3] northwest of the center, and the hill of San Nicolás (called Lelem in Tzeltal) to the southeast. The following account is given of the founding of the present town in the valley:

Our ancestors lived in Amawitz. There wasn't enough water there, but there was a great deal that passed here in the valley. The ancestors came out of their cave to look at where the people should move. They told the people where they should go. The people "thought in common." They cut the trees here; then, when it was dry, they burned it with fire as they do for milpa. When it was cleared, they began to build their houses. Others saw this and came to build their houses. When they finished building their houses, everyone began to think of building a church. The first church was built in Alannantik [the low side] for San Pedro the Martyr. This was torn down because the witches used to come to get the permission of San Pedro to do witchcraft. When the new church was built, there was a division of the town into the upper and lower sections.

It is significant that the people attribute the initiative in the resettlement to the mythical ancestors, although archaeological evidence indicates that the present center was settled after the Conquest. The Conquest is not a part of their mythico-historic past. The ancestors are given credit for establishing everything.

2. The pre-Conquest term for local center was Tzamgholal (Calnek 1962:25), signifying "square head." "Head" town was possibly a ceremonial center.

3. Hermitte (1964:48) notes that in Pinola the "police" of the spiritual government are sent to outposts in Amawitz and Me?wakal in Amatenango. This suggests that it may be considered the ancestral home of other Indians of the area.

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it before he arch. The younger curer then took a bunch of the branches of spring bushes and brushed each person over the head, shoulders, back, arms, and legs. Liquor was passed around to the visitors and participants. The elder curer took the bunch of branches, prayed, and brushed the future occupants. The younger curer followed him with another brushing.

The elder curer put some powder in the springwater. He then took a rattle, stuck it it in a bunch of the leaves from the spring, gave it a couple of shakes as though testing it, and handed it to one of the b'alnial (*young male assistants*). *He then stood before the candles at the back center post, bowed to it, turned, and bowed to the opposite center post. He poured the springwater in a gourd and gave it to Juliana, the houseowner's daughter, who passed it to each member of the household. The curer then took out four cigarettes and put them on either side of the candles. He greeted everyone present and delivered the following prayer:* [782] [839]

May no witchcraft enter.
May all the children be cared for.
I can see and hear who enters.
Of one heart are the women, of one heart are the men.

Santiago began to play the guitar as his wife, Alberta, brought in the coffee and rolls. She handed the first cup to the elder curer. This was followed with a serving of rice and tomatoes. Before he began to eat, the curer said, "good afternoon" to all present.

After the meal, the elder curer led the household members outside. He held one of the palm crosses at the corner post of the house and prayed; then Santiago pounded in a nail to hold it. Each member of the household, including the small children of Alberta, went up and kissed the cross in turn. They went on to the other main posts of the exterior of the house where they did the same thing. They entered the house and continued drinking the rest of the afternoon. Cigarettes were passed around, and the men began to joke. Drinking is compulsory: everyone who attends must drink equal amounts of the liquor served. [273]

Each of the ritual items is introduced because it contains a powerful soul. The branches and the springwater contain souls associated with the

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waters. The curer brushes the patients with branches of the cooling bushes and herbs growing near the spring, the same ones used in the fiesta of inauguration and the curing ceremonies conducted in the house. The strategy of making the house spirit happy by providing music, dancing, and drinking is repeated at the spring to make the water spirit happy. Some of the family of the patient must remain in the house as "waiters" (*maliwanehetik*) to receive the spirit if it should arrive before its owner. The maliwanehetik must drink as much liquor as the participants at the spring.

The Cave of the Ancestors. The ancestors, the *me?tiktatik*, were believed to have lived in a cave in the hills lying on the peripheries of the township. In the myth that follows, they are given a historical identity as two brothers, the Shuntonetik. Shunton is one of the Tzeltal patronyms of families still living in the town, and in fact the narrator of this version of the myth is Mariano Shunton, whom people consider a descendant of the ancestors.[6]

Formerly a priest asked for a document to be delivered to Antigua in Guatemala. Two messengers were sent with it, but they did not return. Another messenger went and did not return. Four or five more messengers were sent out and did not come back. Finally they sent a man from the cabildo with his younger brother. They left early in the morning, and the elder brother said as he left the other town officials, "If I succeed, I want a fiesta. Look for my sign of four arches [rainbow]."

The two brothers first went to a hill. There they called upon their swayohelik [*animal spirits*]. *First the animal spirit of the elder brother spoke. He said, "I am a stone." Then the animal spirit of the younger brother said, "I am a stick. Moreover, I am a snake and a maguey plant." The elder brother said, "Then we are well off. Let us go."*

6. The same identification of a lineage patronym with the most important sacred hill is found in other Tzeltal- and Tzotzil-speaking communities (Holland 1963, Hermitte 1964). The pattern may have originated in a period of pre-Conquest expansion when the dominant lineage was assigned a custodial leadership over the new settlement, with their spirits remaining as guardians of the community. Members of the contemporary communities who bear the same patronym do not have any privileged position. These associations of past and contemporary belief are, as Vogt (1964:216) cautions, still hypothetical.

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As the two brothers were walking, the elder brother said, "Do you see what that man is doing?" He was referring to a black man lying near the road. "He is sleeping," said the younger. The elder said, "Let us go on."

They approached closer to the sleeping man. The elder brother said, "Let us pass." Just as they were passing, the black man said, "Where are you going? Come back! Come, enter here."

They entered a cave. The black man said, "Here you are going to die."

"So be it," said the elder.

"Put your head here," said the black man. He went to get his machete, but instead of hitting the head with it, he drove it into the great stone which was the elder brother's swayohel. "Ah, the devil, who are you?" he asked. Turning to the younger brother, he said, "Now it is your turn!"

The younger brother came, and the black man struck him with his machete. The machete broke.

"Now it is your turn, black man!" said the younger brother. The devil began to cry, "Go along, I will not trouble you." "Yes, you will always trouble us," said the elder brother. "I shall give you money," said the black man. "No, I have money," said the elder brother. "Then I shall carry you," said the black man. "I do not want that. You must die!" said the elder brother. "Come, boy [to his younger brother], cut a stick and make two points on each side. Stick it there and a wind will carry him aloft."

Then a snake came and settled right there where the stick was planted. The black man fell, and the stick entered his anus. It came out of his mouth and he died. The brothers cut off his head and brought it to Guatemala. They delivered the paper to the priest, who was very frightened.

"Which way have you come?" asked the priest. "We came along the road," answered the brothers.

"But didn't you see anyone?" asked the priest. "No one," answered the brothers. "But where did you really go?" asked the priest.

"Since you force us to answer, we did meet someone," answered the brothers, "covering the road where we passed midway. We brought him here."

"I want to see him," said the priest. The elder brother said, "Look, I brought him in this box. I cut off his head."

The priest looked, and when he saw the head, he cried. He ordered the

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soldiers to come and throw the Shunton brothers in jail. He ordered a meal brought to prison with a servant.

"I do not want it," said the elder brother and returned it with the servant. "Tell him [the priest] that I do not want it but thank him."

The servant told the priest that the brothers did not want the good meal.

"Good," said the priest. "If they don't eat in a little while they will be dead. Go leave them liquor so that they will not feel how they die."

"Good," said the servant. She went to the jail and said, "My master wants to know if you want to drink."

"I don't want any. I have some too, I brought a liter of trago." There they were drinking inside the prison.

At ten in the morning, they came to tie a blindfold on the brothers. They shot at them, but the bullet did not hit. They shot again, but it did not hit. "Who are these people?" asked the priest. "Send out another soldier!" The other began to fire, but the bullets did not hit the brothers. Many soldiers came out and fired, but the bullets did not hit them.

"Then," said the soldier, "you know what we shall do? We shall burn them in this hide."

"Good, go look for the hide. When the hide comes we will prepare it," said the priest.

They began to sew the hide. When they finished sewing, they began to throw wood and lit a fire. They waited until the fire started. They came to see the brothers. They were very drunk.

"Bring them here." said the priest. "Not yet. They are still drinking." But the priest answered, "They have drunk enough. Go bring them and we shall burn them."

On their second return, the fire began to burn the pueblo. The people began to cry. Half the pueblo was burned when the Lord of Lightning and Rain came. A shower hit the fire.

"Good," said the elder brother. "We have won. Now the fire is out and we shall go. Let us see if they are waiting for us in our town. If not, I know where we can find some pretty women in Chiapa."

"Good. Let us rest a little," said the younger brother.

"Good, I am thirsty. Let us go where there is water," said the elder.

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"Good."

They waited a while and the water came. "Are you going to drink?"

They drank, and then they made the sign of the rainbow. The president sent his síndico to meet them. The síndico got drunk on the way. He sat down halfway in the road. The brothers met him there. They were angry that a fiesta was not prepared for them. And for this they left town, and went to live in Chiapas.

This tale is known to everyone in town, and there is no doubt as to its authenticity expressed by those who have given versions of it. When I took some of the Indians on a trip to Guatemala, they pointed out the rocks where the brothers encountered the devil. When they arrived in Guatemala and saw a bus marked Antigua they expressed amazement that the town was still in existence.

Some people claim to have seen the ancestors, whom they describe as wearing the old style costume—a long shirt with the hat now worn by the alfereces. The ancestors are believed to have watched over the village from a mound rising abruptly before the mouth of the cave, called Hol Shan, or Head of Palm, because of the trees growing on it (Plate 1). From this eminence they could watch the streets of the village and see whether anyone was trying to bring in evil (Plate 2). They were able to discern the power of evil in the souls of the newborn and could snatch the soul before its possessor grew up to cause evil. Their human agents in guarding the town against evil were the curers (*ʔuʔuletik*), who in the context of guardianship were called *meʔiltatil*.[7]

Each year on the Day of the Cross, May 3d in the Catholic calendar,[8] a fiesta is held in honor of the ancestors. It refers back to the fiesta which ought to have been held for the returning Shuntonetik, and is performed in the interest of the whole community as a means of ensuring good relations with the ancestors.

Formerly the curers were responsible for conducting this fiesta. An informant recalled the ritual:

7. The guardianship role of the curers is related to the functions of pre-Conquest officials, called *ghcanalum*, "caretakers of the soil" (Calnek 1962:25).

8. The date of the Day of the Cross was changed by the Vatican in 1964. When the local priest tried to reschedule the fiesta in the community, he encountered strong opposition. The Indians continue to celebrate the Day of the Cross on May 3d.

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which have the power to mislead, give illness, or capture people to work for them. Only the most powerful curers and witches, and the very greedy approach these spirits for they are reputed to be very "live" and maliciously clever. Snakes are the offspring of the hill and do the bidding of the hill owners.

Wealth in the form of livestock, corn, or gold can be gained from some of the cave owners upon request, but there is danger in receiving these gifts since they must be reciprocated. Among the cave owners who give gifts is Don Klabil, a deceased moneylender of the neighboring town. After his death in the 1940s, his spirit went to live in the hill bordering the two towns. People say that when he was alive he used to get money from the true owner of the cave. Those who have been inside the cave say it is filled with animals—cattle, horses, rabbits—which drink at a large interior lake. The appropriate approach for requesting wealth is to go on Thursday, "when the earth is open," and burn candles and incense. When the request is granted, the recipient must light candles at the cave every Thursday, and after his death he must work forever for the cave owner. It is said that at his death his wealth dies with him—usually all has been spent, and in fact children are left poor. Some say the spirit of the firstborn child of the recipient must be given to the owner to work for him. For this reason, there is no envy felt by neighbors when they see the increasing wealth of a man who has visited the caves and received such gains and he is doubly protected because no one can hurt an "enchanted man" (one who has entered the cave) with witchcraft.

Ladinos' belief in the cave owners gives support to the Indians' credence in their power. Ladinos inquire of Indians where they can find treasures. Once the request to the hill owners is made, it is essential to follow through correctly. Everyone in town knows the story of Martin Bautista, a curer who went to speak to the true owner of the hill in which Don Klabil lives.

He knew how to talk to the owner. The owner told him that at midnight on the following day, he would give him what he wanted. At midnight Maria, his wife, was alone in the house. She heard a noise and the sound of "Andale, burro!" *Then there was a knock at the door. When the*

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woman opened the door, she said, "Ay, Dios!" *The owner of the cave did not like this, and at that moment, he disappeared. Her husband returned the next morning. He beat her when he heard of the arrival of the hill owner and his disappearance when she invoked the name of the Lord. From that day on, he lost his luck and remained a poor man.*

The personalities of the cave owners are more fully defined than those of the spirits which reside in the forests. These tree spirits are able to talk to people, or they may sing, "as a mother sings to her child." They sometimes play tricks, misdirecting those who are lost in the woods. A man who intends to kill his enemy may go to talk to the tree spirits to gain their advice. Some plant spirits, such as tobacco, are stronger than others. Indians sometimes address the tobacco plant as "our grandfather" when they approach it, asking leave to pass. Some say that if you chew the tobacco plant you will have strength to overcome evil spirits when you walk in the woods.

An especially fearful group of spirits called *bohwaletik* roam the wooded hills in the late afternoons. These spirits, who look like Ladinos, are feared because they cut off people's heads to feed to the church bell in a neighboring town or to give to the spirits of major construction projects, such as dams. Suspicions are immediately aroused when a solitary Ladino is seen on the outskirts of the town near evening, and if several Indians sight him, they may even kill him.

Persistence of belief and rituals related to the old gods and demons that were part of the Maya pantheon is directly related to the fact that the Indians continue to live in the same place surrounded by the hills and caves that were the habitations of both good and bad spirits. The landscape serves as a mnemonic device, keeping alive the myths of the past. Everyone accepts the knowledge that the spirits once lived here; the only doubt is whether they continue to inhabit their appropriate places, particularly in the case of the ancestors who were responsible for crops and security. This is not a crisis of loss in belief, but a phasing into history of the mythological past. Since there is no longer acceptance of the curers' claim to communication with the spirits, the Indians believe they may have gone elsewhere. It is characteristic of these Indians that they do not

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mother the Moon gets angry. This might cause an eclipse of the moon, and the crops will suffer because there will be no sun.

There is no prohibition, however, against having sexual relations prior to planting or at other crucial stages, as there are for other Maya-Indians (Wagley 1941:34). [171]

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During the growing season, candles are lit in the milpa as protection against wind as well as robbers, who "lose their luck" when this is done.

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The spirits' care of the crops. The crops have souls, given by the spirits, which will be lost if they are not cared for. The spirits "watch over the crops as parents watch over their children." The term for seed (*yal*) is a metaphorical extension of the term for "child of a woman."

[782]

The following myths give different, occasionally contradictory versions of the origin of crops. This central truth emerges in all of them: The spirits have given us our crops and will continue to do so as long as we offer thanks in the form of ceremonies and gifts to them.

[539]

Santo Tomás [the patron saint of Oxchuk] had intercourse with Santa Lucía. She wanted [asked for] *the soul of corn, and he gave her the seed of corn. Then there came forth beans, corn, and wheat. But then all the saints of San Bartolo and San Miguel [neighboring towns] asked for the soul of corn. Then the soul of beans left us and went to hot country. Now it does not grow well in the pueblo. Also, the avocado has gone to Comitán. The matasano and ground beans went to Oxchuk when Santa Lucía fought with Santo Tomás.*

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The myth of the origin of crops overlays an older myth which has parallels in other groups of Maya-speaking Indians (Castro 1965, Wagley 1941:20).

[539]

Formerly, during a famine, there was hunger. The tzisim, *an insect of Ariola, came to take the corn from underground. Thus the ancestors got their first seed. For this reason, people say that corn was born underground, brought up by the tzisim. But I believe God sent us corn.*

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Another version has synthesized the role of the saints and that of the animal agent.

241 *The ant* [alielo] *brings corn out of the house. They say that a saint*
776 *passed on horseback. The ant came to the saint, bringing a grain of corn.*
825 *He stood before the saint, and the saint said, "Where are you going with*
539 *the corn?" The ant replied, "To the storeroom." The saint inquired, "Which one?" The ant went to show the saint a stone as large as a church into which he entered to take out corn. There was white, yellow, and red corn.*

The saint returned to heaven and spoke to San Bartolo. San Bartolo asked, "Where is it?" The saint replied, "I will show you."

San Bartolo went with Santo Tomás to see the stone. Santo Tomás said, "Good, let us figure out how to destroy this stone." San Bartolo said, "Let us go talk to a carpenter." At this moment, a carpenter came. They asked him to cut the stone. "Good," said the carpenter, "I will do it."

But the carpenter could not open the stone. They went to another carpenter—there were three in this mountain. The first couldn't, nor could the second. The third carpenter said, "Let us talk to the tunselek [*woodpecker*]. *He is a good carpenter."*

The first two birds had broken their beaks, and the saints warned the woodpecker that he should be careful or he would fail with the stone. The woodpecker broke open the stone, and all the corn seed—yellow, red, and white—fell out. People should not kill these birds because they broke open the rock where the seeds were kept.

241 The necessity for showing respect to crops because of their relationship
776 to the saints is expressed in the following account:

[539] *Corn must be treated with respect, since it is the body of the Virgin. You cannot step on anything which is for eating—beans, corn, or wheat —or the Virgin will become angry. Particular care has to be taken at the harvest to avoid offending the saints.*

Some of the saints serve man by helping to spread the cultivation of crops, as in the case of San Isidro, the patron saint of milpas.

[539] *The Padre told us that San Isidro helps the farmers. Formerly there was only milpa here where there is irrigated land. San Isidro went up to the*

hilltop with a digging stick. He knelt and prayed, asking for rain. At that very moment, the rain came. He put the seeds in the holes he made, and from then on people have been planting in the hills.

Other saints are charged with providing rainfall. The saint of greatest importance in this respect is Santo Tomás, the patron saint of Oxchuk. Some Indians have gone to the church there to light a candle and ask for rain, and on their return the rains came. During an extended drought in August 1967, over one hundred people walked to Oxchuk to pray for rain. The people of Tzo?ontahal are somewhat bitter about the Oxchuqueños' neglect of Santo Tomás since over half of the town has converted to Protestantism. Whenever there is a drought, they blame it on the failure of the people of Oxchuk to take care of Santo Tomás.

In addition to the Catholic saints, the ancestor spirits help man to watch over the land. They are responsible for giving the rains in the planting period and early growing season. The fiesta on the Day of the Cross (Chapter 1) is primarily a plea for rain. Until the 1950s, the curers would hold a celebration at the Cave of the Ancestors to ask for rain during a drought. The waning belief in the presence of the ancestor spirits in the town has meant that there is less attention given to such fiestas. Some go to seek the ancestors in Chiapa de Corzo in the cave in which they are supposed to reside, as the following story illustrates:

One time my three brothers-in-law went to Chiapas to ask the ancestors for better crops. When they arrived there, nobody knew where the cave was. They said only a certain mayordomo there could find it.

Another time, two of the prayer-reciters went to the cave. They talked to the guard of the cave, saying, "May we speak to our ancestors?" The guard said, "Are you prepared? Did you bring two liters of trago? The ancestors like to drink."

The prayer-reciters went to get two liters of trago and all three drank it. While they were drinking, they saw a cow and chickens appear. The guardian said that if they came back in May with "food" for the ancestors —candles, incense, and firecrackers—they would get rich crops. I think the prayer-reciters succeeded because now they have a cow and chickens and a horse. They are afraid of the envy of their neighbors.

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[764] [43] *give five or ten pesos are helped by God. Those who give nothing end at their burial with nothing.*

If the death occurs in the night, the body will be buried on the following day. During the wake, called "watching over the dead," relatives of the father, mother, and spouse of the deceased, as well as compadres and neighbors, watch over the body so that the devil cannot enter and steal the [608] soul. If the dead person's padrino is alive, he serves as first *nakawane* and [273] greets the guests. Liquor is served constantly. The women serve coffee and [574] tamales or tortillas to the visitors at midnight.

At midnight the woman who is closest of kin cries for the dead. This is a stylized crying in which the mourner speaks of how the dead man passed his life. If she is his widow, she weeps for the misery she will face. [539] Mourning for herself, she repeats:

How can I eat now with my children?
You will not see how I shall live.
You are of one heart in the ground.
But you do not see how I shall eat with the children.

If the death has been a violent one, the widow may express her sentiments about the blamelessness of her husband, or she may suggest that accusations that he was a witch are true by saying she knew nothing of what he did at night. In any case, people listen carefully to what she sings because it may give some basis for speculating whether there will be an attempt to avenge his death.

On the day of the burial, the coffin is lined with a new straw mat, and all the dead man's used clothing except for his kotonču is placed inside. A gourd drinking cup with *posol*, a spiced corn gruel, is placed near the dead man's mouth along with a tortilla. A metal cup cannot be used to hold water in the coffin because it does not have a soul as does the gourd vessel, which comes from a living plant. If the deceased is a man or boy, his hat is placed next to his head and his sandals are set beside his feet. A cross made of palm is put in the coffin to ward off the devil. If the deceased is a child, his head is adorned witha wreath of paper flowers set on a kerchief which is bound around his head.

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has been made at the time of the house inauguration. Food for the chicken—bread, chocolate, tortilla, and liquor—is put in the hole so it will stay alive for eight days.

The logic of the meal is that the house needs nourishment and for this reason has been fighting with the inmates and causing their illness. After the guests have been fed, the curer marks a cross with a mixture of garlic, creosote, seeds of mustard, and a "hot" herb called polčan, on the center post inside the house and on the corner posts. Like the candles, the cross serves to "blind the eye" of the evil spirits so that they will not reenter the house and talk the spirit of the house into causing harm.

This ceremony replicates that of the house meal at the time of the inauguration (Chapter 1). The music of the guitar and gourd rattle is intended to make both the soul of the house and the souls of the inmates content. Why the curing of the house is always done on Thursday, when "the holy earth is open," is not fully understood by the curers I have questioned; they say, "We have forgotten how to talk to the earth." Chamula curers are reputed to be able to talk to the earth, and consultations may be sought with them if the illness continues.

Prayer. The curers talk with the soul of the thirteen ancestors of the world,[5] to the "spirits of the heaven and of the church," and to saints of neighboring towns, asking for a good cure. The following prayer is one given by the oldest and most honored of the curers:

Sacred earth, sacred world
Thirteen holy world, holy flowers
In the center of another holy world

Look mother, its clay
I am a child, its clay.
Holy heaven, Jesus Christ
Holy herbs give the spirit

5. The number 13 has significance in the Maya cosmology in the 13 levels of heaven (Thompson 1964:125). The 13 candles set before the curing arch symbolize the 13 holy worlds. The meal for the house spirit includes 13 cigarettes.

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The companions of the patient
are gathered here with his father
In the center of this other holy
earth
Holy earth, take out the fever.

The curer then calls upon each of the saints of the surrounding towns, asking for help in bringing about a miracle. First he calls upon the major saints of the pueblo (Santa Lucía, San Francisco, Santiago, San Pedro the Martyr, and the Virgen de Rosario), then those of Teopisca (San Augustín and the Virgen de Mercedes), of San Cristóbal (San Cristóbal and Justo Juez), of Villa Carranza (Señor del Pozo and San Bartolo), of Socoltenango (the Virgen de Candelaria), of Villa las Rosas (San Miguel and San José), of Comitán (Santo Domingo, San Caralampio, and the Virgen de Santa Teresa), and finally Señor Esquipulas of Tulanca. Thus he defines the meaningful spiritual universe of the village, building a kind of hegemony of defense and protection.

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At any point throughout the cure the patient may consult the doctor sent by the I.N.I., the priest, or the schoolteacher, all of whom compete with each other in gaining clients by dispensing medicines. This does not undermine the role of the curer since curing the disease is considered a separate issue from stopping the witchcraft which is causing it. The disease may be cured, but the persistence of the witchcraft will eventually cause death through spiritual malaise unless treated by the curer.

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All the people of the village know the common herbs and the sicknesses for which they should be used. The basis for the curer's power thus is not specialized knowledge of medicines, but the strength of his swayohel in fighting that of the enemy, and his esoteric knowledge of pulsing.

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Formerly curers received minimal pay for practicing. The family of the patient offered about 20 pesos or worked in the fields of the curer. Curers refused larger payments because they said their skill came from God, and it would be a sin to accept money for it. This practice is continued today by one old curer for patients within the community. However, he receives from 100 to 200 pesos from out-of-town patients. A Ladina from the neigh-

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After another
mouthwash, the b'alnialetik lay a cloth on a small table which is put in the center of the porch, and two liters of trago and a measuring glass are laid on this. The Cofrade of Santa Lucia rises and asks permission of the women, the mayordomos, and all the b'alnialetik to drink the liquor, saying: "God, mother who nurses us, give permission to us so that the water of his body, the water of his hand, the gift will pass in our bodies, that which is the gift of the me?tiktatik. God speaks, tat nakawanehetik and b'alnialetik. Give us permission to hand the gift that will pass in your body from the me?tiktatik. God, Jesus, Mary, only one commander God is three persons. Bless what we eat and what we drink and bless in the name of God the father. God, take the gift, me?estatel."

The mayordomos, b'alnialetik, and nakawanehetik then make the sign of the cross. The Cofrade of the Virgin Santa Lucia blesses the liquor, saying, "In God's name, God the father, name of God, God the son, Holy Spirit. Yes, I can endure doing what they did, what our mother and what our father did, with my hand which has sinned and my feet which have sinned. Yes, we are changing office on this holy day, this holy year the holy saint, with the holy oath and in the name of God the Father."

The mayordomos drink four measures of liquor, then raise the rest of the drinks to their lips without drinking and take the glass over to one of the nakawanehetik. In this way they show the restraint to which they have been urged in the speeches. At eleven o'clock they leave for the church, putting their red kerchiefs around their necks along with the rosaries. As they set out, the elder nakawane says so the new mayordomos: "May you all get up and go to the church. May you all enter inside the church. May you take the oath inside the church before the face of the fiscal. After you take the oath, make the sign of the cross before the face of the Tatik Jesus Christ. After you have made the sign of the cross, when you enter inside the door of the church, the mamal new kobraria will give the account to the mamal old kobraria."

Sitting within the church are the old mayordomos and the fiscal who have remained there after the mass. They are awaiting the new mayordomos. Two of them play the drum and the flute. The new mayordomos enter, the elder and junior mayordomo of each saint walking together, and kneel before the image of Tatik Jesus Christ. The church has been ar-

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The two groups of spirits differ in their traditional characteristics and functions. The spirits of the heaven "look to see where everyone is going," "look and listen to all that people say," "are very alive," and "are of the world." In contrast to them, the spirits of the church "are not alive," "do not speak," "do not do anything," "are only of the pueblo." Thus the spirits of the heaven are universal; those of the church are particular. The saints' images which are kept in the church of the town are not considered to represent the same person as these same images in other towns. This conception of saints as local and distinct personalities is found in other Maya Indian towns and differs from that of orthodox Catholicism.

The lord spirits of the heaven. The spirits of the heaven are God the Father, *Tios Tatil,* God the Son, *Tios Niˀanil,* and the Holy Spirit, *Spiritusantú.* Table 27 indicates the identification made between these major figures and pre-hispanic spiritual entities.

TABLE 27. Pre- and Post-Hispanic Equivalents of the Lord Spirits of the Heavens

Post-Hispanic spirits		*Pre-Hispanic spirits*
Tios Tatil (God the Father)	=	B'alamilal (The World) B'ankilal (Elder Brother)
Tios Niˀanil (God the Son, Jesus Christ)	=	Sčeb'al B'ankilal (Second Brother)
Spiritusantú (Holy Spirit)	=	Tatik K'ahk'al (The Lord Sun) K'oˀl (referential, Last Child) Šut (vocative, proper name) ˀihtz'in (Younger Brother)
Meˀ Santú (Virgin Mary)	=	Meˀtikčič ˀu (Our Grandmother the Moon)

The "mystery" of the Trinity is "explained" in the following story in which pre-hispanic deities are identified with the Christian deities.

Many years ago, the Lord Sun [Tatik K'ak'al] *did not walk as now. He was only hanging in the heavens. Our Grandmother the Moon* [Meˀtik Čič ˀu] *bore three sons named God the Father* [Tios Tatil], the Elder *Brother; God the Son, Second Brother; and a third named K'oˀl, or Last One. The first brother did not turn out bright nor did the second brother. It was the youngest brother, K'oˀl, who was the brightest. When the Elder*

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Brother was in heaven, there never was night. He never rested from his work.

One day K'oš said to his brother, "Let us go for a walk. We will get honey and eat it. I know where there is a tree." He told his mother to make tortillas to take with them. She made many tortillas for K'oš to eat, and in addition made two small tortillas.

His mother asked K'oš, "Why do you want to go out walking?"

He replied, "I am going to find honey. Wait for me to return."

K'oš and his two older brothers walked until they arrived at the tree with the honey. The Elder Brother said, "I shall climb very high."

K'oš said, "I too will climb."

The Elder Brother said, "Do not climb. Wait and I shall throw the honey down. You cannot climb the tree, Šut" [for this is what they called K'oš].

K'oš just waited for his brother to throw down the honey. K'oš got very angry because the Elder Brother just threw down beeswax.[1] An animal entered the trunk of the tree and started eating the root. The tree shook, frightening the two brothers. They called out, "What are you doing, Šut?"

"Nothing. I am not doing anything. Why don't you give me good honey?"

"Go on and drink it," the older brothers said.

"I don't like it. It isn't any good," replied K'oš.

He did nothing for a while. Then the tree fell. K'oš saw the tree fall. He went and got the two small tortillas his mother had packed in his lunch, and he put one on the Elder Brother's nose. His brother turned into a pig. He tried to put the other tortilla on the Second Brother's nose, but he could not seize him. The Second Brother turned into a wild boar, and fled into the forest. He brought the Elder Brother to his house. When he arrived at his house with his little pig, he said to his mother, "Mother, I have brought a little pig to raise."

"Where did you find it?" his mother asked.

"I just brought it," replied K'oš.

1. In recounting this passage, the narrator laughed, and when I asked why, said that the word for beeswax is also the word for excrement. She commented that K'oš was very bright because he would not tolerate this.

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776 *"Is there food for it?" asked his mother.*
• 539 *"I am going to plant a milpa to feed the little pig. You stay here and*
179 *watch the little pig and I will go."*

"Yes, I will care for it," said his mother.

K'ol went to plant his milpa. As he was leaving, he said to his mother, "I will return in the afternoon."

His mother said, "I shall await you in the afternoon."

When K'ol returned, his mother asked, "How is your milpa?"

He replied, "It isn't ready. Tomorrow I am going to burn it because it is just a forest."

The next day, K'ol returned to his milpa. Everything he had cut had grown back in his milpa. He asked himself, "How did it spring up? I am going to wait and see who is causing the trouble." He waited and saw a bird entering the milpa. The bird said, "I don't want to have the woods burned!"

K'ol said, "I am going to start the fire."

He started the fire, and then he said, "I am going to where the day meets the heaven." He picked up the fire of his milpa, saying, "My brother does not know how to walk. I am going to walk around and return."

Now the day walks in front and the night walks behind.[2]

The story has an aftermath which describes the continuing relationship between the Lord Sun, K'ol, and his mother, Our Grandmother the Moon.

The Lord Sun sees all of our sins and puts them in a book. If anyone has sexual relations in the milpa, he puts it down. When he sees this, he gets angry because he walks alone. He wants to end the world since he does not endure our sins. But Our Grandmother the Moon does not want

[184] 2. There are other versions of this story in neighboring Tzeltal-speaking communities. Castro (1959:24–31) gives an Oxchuk version in which the identification of the three brothers with the Christian Trinity is not made. Ñut, the vocative term used in the Tzo?-ontahal version, is given as the name of the youngest brother, who succeeded in giving a new sun to the world. But in outwitting his brothers with the honey, Ñut killed them rather [171] than turning them into pigs. A Chol version (Whitaker and Warkentin 1965) is closer to that of Oxchuk.

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the sun to kill people. She is afraid that if all the people die, other people will come who have just one hand and one foot. They will not be able to work. Our Grandmother the Moon wants things as they are. So she fights the Sun, and then there is an eclipse. For this reason, people say that she bears our sins.

The tales occasionally try to bring the old gods into focus with the Christian gods and to explain certain cosmological events, for example the eclipse and the movement in the heavens of the sun and the moon. The synthesis is incomplete. First of all, the small part Jesus (Second Brother) plays in the first myth, in which he finally disappears into the forest, shows a failure to fit the three gods into the pre-hispanic format which included only two main characters. Secondly, the myths fail to synthesize the codes of morality stemming from Maya and Christian sources. In Christian mythology, the deities are conceived of as perfect. They are not identified with the sun, but are the power of creation which brought forth the sun and made it move. Destructive forces come from the evil power of the Devil. The deities of the Indians incorporate both good and evil. Cosmological forces are the gods acting directly either to promote or destroy man's work. Even the Grandmother Moon, who shows compassion for her grandchildren, can be piqued into destroying their crops.

In another tale the personification of good and evil in separate characters shows greater influence from Catholicism. Jesus emerges as the hero who, with the collaboration of the Virgin Mary, outwits the Devil.

After Jesus was crucified, the King of the Jews[3] *called upon people to sow a staff to prove who moves the world. Jesus planted the seed, but the Jews did not let them grow. He did it again, and only one leg came out and one hand came out. Therefore the plant did not stand because the "King of Evil" was watching.*

Jesus and his mother had an idea. He spoke to her, saying, "What do you think, Mother?" She replied, "The only thing I can say is, what can we think of?"

The Lord Christ replied, "Our children and offspring [the milpa] do

3. The Devil is alternately called King of the Jews [Statal Jurio], King of Evil [Statal Pukuh], and the Devil in the story.

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not stand. Only one stands—he who does not respect us." The Virgin Mother said, "Yes, I saw another one who walks well watching our children." Jesus asked, "Did you get a good look where he walks?" His mother replied, "Yes, indeed, I saw him." Christ asked, "If you know, what are we going to do there where he walks?" "I do not know what we shall do," said his mother.

Then, after a pause, Christ said, "Now I know what we will do! Do you know what hour he passes?" The Virgin answered, "Yes, I do."

"Good. I am going to make a little house and put a Victrola, an accordion, and also a violin in it. I will put a marimba, a guitar, and a harp on each side of the road. And I shall also put trago and beer, everything that is good to drink. When you see him coming, we will begin to play the marimba and guitar and all the music on both sides of the road. When you see the King of Evil, we will begin the dance and drink trago—everything there is—and he will look at what we drink."

The Virgin said, "I will invite him to dance a little." "Yes, you remain here dancing, and I shall go for a moment to see his children [corn plants]. Continue dancing while I go out to look," said Christ. The Virgin answered, "Good. Good."

And so the Devil passed by. When Christ left, the Virgin began to dance with the Devil. They drank more liquor to make him "lose his heart" [get drunk]. The Virgin did not see that the Devil put his tail in half of the bottle. It is because of this that the people say liquor is one-half Devil and one-half God.

Meanwhile, Jesus arrived where the children of the Devil were. He made no more than the sign of the cross, and all the children of the Devil died. It is after the Children of the Devil died that Christ seized control of the world.

And so it is true that we are his children who came out of Jesus Christ.

In this tale, evil is personified in the enemy of the Catholic Church, the King of the Jews who is also the pre-hispanic "King of Evil." The Virgin Mother is concerned with preventing the world from reverting to the situation in which people were born helpless, with just one arm and one leg, as it was when the Devil was in control. To prevent this, when the moon is "sick" or in eclipse, the people must call her back to life. The strategy is

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to make a great deal of noise by striking hoes, firing rifles, blowing the horns of bulls, and striking gourds. The logic of this behavior can be understood from the following statement of an informant: "The sickness of the moon is a result of the conflict of the sun with the moon. The noise we made frightens the father sun so that he will stop fighting the moon. If he were to win, the people would die, and new people would be born with only one leg and one arm."[4]

We have in this story what appears to be an overlay of post-hispanic mythology, in which the Devil personifies evil forces, superimposed on a prehispanic mythological identification of the powers of both good and evil in single cosmological deities. Whereas in the previous myth it is the Devil, the King of the Jews, who caused all of the children of Jesus to die and to be reborn with only one arm and one leg, in this statement it is the sun who can effect the same reversal of nature. The sun, Tatik K'alik, has the power to cause the milpa to grow, but by staying out too long, it can burn the crop. Similarly lightning, Tatik Ča'uk, may bring rain, but can destroy the milpa with the winds that precede the rain or kill man and destroy his house. Man is responsible for determining how the force of the gods will be directed.

The guardianship of the sun and the moon over the people of the world serves to control or at least restrain the behavior of people. Since both of them "walk alone," without companionship, they become jealous if they see sexual relations performed by people in the milpa. Since all legal sexual relations are carried out in the relative privacy of the house, it is only those who seek illicit relationships who retreat to the milpa, and so this restraint has a prohibitive effect on unsanctioned sexual behavior. If the moon sees someone in the milpa at night, she refuses to retire and stays out, not letting her son the sun rise. Similarly, when the sun sees someone in the milpa in the daytime, he refuses to retire, burning the milpa with his hot rays.

The lord spirits of the east. There is another category of spirits which is ill defined and not many people know. These are the spirits of

4. The same behavior, that of making noise during an eclipse, is found in the Maya Indian community of Cantel, Guatemala, but there it is interpreted as a means of calling the sick grandmother back to life by showing that her grandchildren care about her.

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776 the east. Each of these is responsible for giving something to men: one gave corn, one wheat, one bulls, one horses, and one pigs. These spirits are recognized in the context of the household only: at the end of each household ceremony, the assembled guests stand and look to the East where the gods reside in a place called Santo Arió, somewhere in Guatemala. Since their gifts to mankind are products which are produced and consumed by the household, and since they are recognized in the context of the house, there is some basis for thinking of them as old household gods. Calnek (1962:61) has pointed out that among the ancient Maya, household gods were part of "a hierarchically ordered series of deities, worship or propitiation of which progressively links him not with other individuals conceived particularistically, but to all larger social units of which he is a member."

776 539 177 The only case I know in which an identification is made between these household gods and the saints concerns Santa Teresa:

Once long ago the owners began to harvest their milpas, and they put the corn in a pile. When the harvest was finished, they began to beat the corn from the cob. When they carried off the corn, some of the seed [sb'ak'] *remained.*

A man passed by and heard a saint talking. He asked what she said, and she replied, "Nothing. I said that you should tell the Padre to pick me up and put my body (also sb'ak') in a church. I want a church for myself, and I shall wait here until you come to carry me inside the church. I do not want any companion. I don't want you to throw away the corn seeds, nor do I want you to burn the seeds because they are my bones. Make a good fiesta and bring me into the church with firecrackers and with prayers. Raise me high on a pedestal because I do not want to be kissed, I only want my feet to be kissed."

And now there is a church for Santa Teresa standing in a milpa outside of Comitán, in which she lives alone since there is no companion for her.

776 177 *The lord spirits of the church.* Among the sixteen saints of the church, four "big saints"—Sacramento, San Pedro the Martyr, Santa Lucía, and San Francisco—are distinguished from the others. All four are considered by the Indians to be patron saints of the pueblo, although the

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priest lists only one, San Francisco. Only these top four are hierarchically ordered. The big saints are supposed to be able to make miracles, but there are stories only for San Pedro and Santa Lucía. San Pedro Martyr, *Tatik Martil*, is the only saint possessing a soul. The image of San Pedro shows him with a hatchet in his head, blood dripping over his face. According to legend, San Pedro was the first patron saint of the town. The following story recounts his transformation:

Tatik Martil was of a very foreign kind of heart. He gave permission to the witches to bring sickness. Only those who knew how to make illness spoke with him. They went and asked permission to make the illness continue. People heard he was very evil, and they threw him out of church. They cut off his head, saying, "You only give evil. You do not give any miracles. You have given the old ones permission to give evil."

San Pedro received a new head in Pinola. Now he is good and is of one heart with the Virgin Santa Lucía, with Sacramento, and with San Francisco.

The logic by which San Pedro is cast as leader of the witches is implicit in judgments concerning guilt in cases of homicide. Any man who is killed is referred to as the guilty person, since protecting the village from witchcraft is the main motivation for homicide. When an early priest set up an image of San Pedro in the church, this must have inspired fear and foreboding. He was transmogrified by the people into the leader of the witches, and they burned the church to the ground. (Its foundations are still visible in Alannantik.) Whether the priest at that time (around 1746) convinced the people that, with a new head purchased in Pinola, San Pedro was transformed, or whether the people invented the story, we do not know. Despite his reformation, San Pedro still inspires fear. He is identified with the Lord of Lightning, Tatik Ča'uk. The following is a typical account of his power:

This power comes from his possession of an animal spirit. Whenever the lightning strikes, people know that some sin has been committed. The old people say that he asked a son-in-law to put down a lightning flash. The son-in-law couldn't do it—I don't know why he couldn't do his work—

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776 821 539 177 *and so he returned and the Lord of Lightning gave him another job—that of making lightning flashes.*

776 177 789 San Pedro now gives protection to the people from the power he wields. During his fiesta, palm crosses are distributed to everyone who attends mass; if a man walks with a cross tucked in his hat or a woman wears one strung on her neck, he or she will not be struck by lightning. The houses are similarly protected with palm crosses.

776 177 Santa Lucía is the only other saint in the local roster who is described as being "very powerful." She is supposed to be able to cure diseases of the eyes. The image of her in the church shows her holding two eyes reflected in a small mirror in the palm of her hand. The story which explains why she holds them was told me with an expression of complete belief, and other informants vouch for its authenticity:

776 177 539 821 *Formerly, Santa Lucía used to "talk with" [a euphemism for "had an affair with"] Santo Tomás of Oxchuk. Santo Tomás loved her because she was pretty. Santa Lucía was so in love with Santo Tomás that she gave him a gift of her eyes. He did not want them—he was frightened by the gift—and he returned them. From then on, she did not speak to him. Now, when a child has sickness of his eyes, his mother buys medicine and takes it to Santa Lucía who gives her blessing, and the child gets well.*

They say the lightning struck the church in Oxchuk, and it was the fault of Santa Lucía. But then a few years ago it struck our church. And that was the fault of Santo Tomás. He is very strong.

"I am going to see how she will pay for that!" said Santo Tomás.

And in ten years a storm came and broke the tower of our church. There was a meeting of the principales. They said, "Let's sell the cattle of Santa Lucía so that we can build a new church." The tower was struck another time. All the married men had to contribute forty pesos each. We made it out of metal this time, because Santo Tomás is very strong.

821 776 On a conscious level, most people know that the earth is round, and that the sun revolves around it, but the motivating power behind natural phenomena is still conceived in personalized terms. One informant, when asked why the sun rises and sets, ventured cautiously, "I have heard that our Father, the Sun, revolves and that he goes down below the earth. But

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boring towns of Oxchuk, Larraínzar, and Chenalhó. The ceremonial calendar is given in Table 28.

Table 28. Ceremonial Calendar

Big fiestas		*Small fiestas*	
Date	*Fiesta*	*Date*	*Fiesta*
Mar. or Apr.	Tatik Kulibal	Jan. 20	Tatik San Karalampio
Apr. 29	Tatik Martil	May 6	Tatik San Migel
July 25	Tatik Santiagú	May 15	Tatik San Isigre
Aug. 29	Tatik San Pransiskú	May 26	Tatik Spiritu Santú
Nov. 29	Santú?	June 11	Tatik San Antonió
Dec. 13	Me?tik Santa Lucía*	June 29	San Pegro-San Pablú
		July 15	Tatik Korasón
		July 20	Tatik San Huan
		Oct. 2	Me?tik Rosario
		Nov. 12	Me?tik Guadalupe
		Dec. 12	Tatik Santo Tomás
		Dec. 25	Me?tik Paskú, Tatik Ninyo

In every fiesta drums and flutes are played, liquor is drunk, candles burned, and church bells rung. During a big fiesta, which continues for three days rather than for a single day, these additional activities are added: contributions of 5 pesos per household are collected, the church is adorned with flowers and greens, mass is held (this may occur in minor fiestas as well if the priest happens to be present), a common meal is prepared for the mayordomos, and the people celebrate with firecrackers, saints' processions, dancing, house fiestas in the homes of the alfereces when they were still being installed, and a fiesta in the houses of the kobraria with a bull slaughtered for the meal.

During fiestas, time is measured in liters of liquor consumed and in cigarettes. The liquor, or "gift of the gods," is the basic element of all fiestas and assures the participants that the celebration will be successful. Safeguards were built into the management of the fiesta in the role of *alisiles*, who used to act as attendants to the alfereces and who watched to see that the alfereces and the guitarists did not get so drunk that they could not perform.

The following story about the origin of liquor illustrates its great importance to the fiesta.

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Well, hear now how liquor first appeared. They were looking and looking for a bullfighter. But there was none to be found. There was no one drunk enough to make a fiesta. With no one to make a fiesta, there was no fiesta. Therefore Santa Lucía and Santiago wanted to make a fiesta. Santa Lucía said, "There is no one to make a fiesta. I better go take a bath. When the water comes to wash me, then we can have a fiesta. It is because now you are very frightened. You cannot mount on horseback. No one will fight the bull because there is no liquor. You are not prepared because you have to have a liter of trago."

"Good," said Santiago. After Santa Lucía and Santiago spoke they took the water from Santa Lucía's bath and took out of it one liter of trago. They distributed one liter to all and we changed. They built a beautiful corral and everyone in the town gathered.

Well, when they had arrived, they gave a little liquid in the little cup. After drinking a little, it gave strength. Well, everyone changed greatly. Those who drank the trago found strength with each drink. But since many drank, no one got drunk. They finished one liter and then another, but no one got drunk. "Better get another," said someone. They got one more liter, and with this they began the fiesta. One after another mounted on horseback, and fought the bull. Thus they fought, one horse tied to another. How they fought that fiesta! Thus they went on, getting more and more drunk, until the women hid it.

It is thus that liquor appeared by the grace of our patron God. It is for this reason that we say in the pat?o?tan "the washings of his legs and of his arms our saint and leader Jesus Christ, the great master holy Jesus Christ, Santiago, Santa Lucía. So we gather at the door, our clay, our mud." We speak these words because of the liquor, because God gave the trago only by washing himself, only by his powerful urine. There was no trago for the old forefathers because the washings were given to their offspring. So it is that liquor appeared according to this story. Later it was related in the pat?o?tan. Now it is the custom for everyone.

This story is somewhat confused since it is Santa Lucía who took the bath and Jesus Christ who is given the credit. Others have told me that the first liquor appeared when Jesus was taken from the cross and his

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796 539 273 body was washed. The confusion may come not from error, but from an identification of the patron saints with Jesus. The importance of the story is that liquor, as the gift of the gods, is the medium for releasing people from their fears.

796 794 The small fiestas are the responsibility of only the two mayordomos, the elder and the junior, who are assigned to the saint. They ring the church bells, light the candles, and play the drum and flute until noon. In the large fiestas all the mayordomos are active, as well as the fiscal and the priest, the prayer-reciters, and formerly the alfereces. The entire pueblo participates in the mass given at the large fiestas and assembles to "see the saints" when they emerge in the procession.

The proceedings of the fiesta take place in the church and the church yard, the house of the cofrade of the major saint whose fiesta it is, the plaza, and formerly, the house of the alférez of that saint. In each of these domains different sets of actors are tied together by acts performed in carrying out responsibilities to the saints. The chain of command is established in each setting: in the church the mayordomos are directed by the fiscal; in the household the eldest nakawane orders the b'alnial and receives the visitors with the pat?o?tan. He is the master of ceremonies, as in all household gatherings, and his female counterpart is the woman speaker. She orders the women helpers in the preparation of the food, which is then served by the b'alnialetik. Religious officials hold ceremonies in their houses only after they have served five times in office.

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796 In the household, religious ceremonies replicate civil ceremonies. A mouthwash is served, followed by coffee and bean tamales, another round of mouthwash, an offering of thanks for the liquor by the nakawane, and a serving of liquor. Musical instruments played in the household differ from those of the church yard: a guitar and gourd rattle provide the accompaniment to the drinking episode here. Fiestas held in the household of the alfereces were terminated with a dance.

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Choosing and Installing the Alférez

794 178 Formerly the alfereces were the chief figures in maintaining the fiesta cycle. During my stay in 1964 and 1965 the officials were experiencing

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guests. They borrowed benches from neighbors; they cut juniper and prepared the resting place for the sacred banner; they borrowed seed-gourd rattles and two tables, and they adorned the house with pine branches and fruit. In the afternoon, all the relatives, the compadres, and the neighbors were invited. Two alisiles were appointed (this term is probably a Tzeltal rendition of alguacil, *in Spanish an office corresponding to high bailiff or peace officer). The alisiles were charged with watching to see that neither the new alférez nor either of his two guitarists got too drunk to carry out his functions.*

The two alisiles called out the women to dance, first asking permission of the woman speaker. The dance was the most important act in the set of performances on the third day, which was sometimes referred to as the "afternoon of the big dance." The dance was a highly charged event because the women were for the first time cast in a public role. Fear and shame, the two conditioning mechanisms of socialization in Tzo?ontahal, had to be overcome when the women became involved in the dance. Special precautions were taken: the alisil formally requested the woman speaker to take the women out:

Lord, women who nursed us, give pardon with God, the Virgin Mother. Give holy pardon mother and father with God and with the Virgin Mother. We have gathered here, collected together your child, your offspring, where it is not very pretty, not very flavorful, at the door of your holy poverty, holy suffering, for the holy office, the holy prayer. Again our clay, our mud comes to speak here to the mothers who nursed, who give us fear and embarrassment.

Then the alfereces took off their hats and kerchiefs and brought them to the women. This act was described by an informant: "The women cover their heads with the kerchief and put on the hat. The girls want the handkerchief and the hat of their husbands in order not to be ashamed to be seen by a boy. They want the kerchief to hide their faces. If they do not want the hat, it is when they are mature women and do not have shame. The wives of the alfereces do not have shame because it is their job." The use of the kerchief which was draped over their head, partially covering

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794 during the fiesta of Santiago and Easter Week. These are described briefly
796 below.

Fiesta of Santiago. *On the third day of the fiesta the new alférez went to "raise" his three companions. First he went to the house of the alférez who had recently served. There he greeted the nakawanehetik with the pat?o?tan, drank a measure of liquor, and went with the third alférez to the house of the second alférez. The same greeting was exchanged with the nakawanehetik, and the two drank another measure of liquor. They went to the house of the first past alférez, and there they exchanged a greeting with the nakawanehetik in which they comment on the "flowery and flavorful" fiesta for "our old saint and commander, the great angel man Señor Santiago." From there they mounted their horses and began the races.*

[276] [273] *Each of the horseback riders was given a quarter-liter of liquor and a cigarette. Three liters of liquor were distributed at the holy cross (site of a cross no longer standing). The four alfereces stood at the cross, removed their hats, which they stacked one on top of the other, and put them nearby. The four took turns kissing and bowing before the others. They said, "Holy good afternoon," and gave two holy thanks for the gift (the liquor), embracing each other. After the four alfereces greeted each other and the three alisiles, the leader of the races gave the pat?o?tan with the past alférez:*

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> *And good day. What do you see, Mam compadre? You are alive, word of God this holy afternoon. You have not heard of any sickness behind our heart this holy afternoon, Mam compadre? There is no fear, shame, Mam compadre. Give another pardon Lord with Virgin. Give me holy pardon, Mam compadre. See us gathered before you seated our bodies, our clay, our mud, Mam compadre. What can we do, what can we make here where we have arrived again? Speak, raise godchild, afternoon of holy fiesta godchild afternoon of holy child's fiesta of him our saint, our commander. What can we do, what can we make when we have found this holy hour, this holy day of our lord Santiago Calixtro, for our patron god? Where now is the water of her legs, the water of her hand* [liquor], *our saint, virgin*

mother? There is nothing but holy suffering, holy penitence here before our sinful clay, our sinful mud. Again we gather here where others have gathered before in the company of our ancestors, the holy alisiles with the liquor bearers. It is your burden the four of you, the holy work, your holy office for his godchildren again give his godchild at the gate of the door of the church our saint, our keeper, the great father Señor Santiago Calixtro for our patron God, again we gather before this doorway our bodies, our clay, our mud with the holy alisil with our costume. Only give a little liquor, the gift of your mothers, your fathers, mam compadre.

The two alfereces of Ahk'olnantik received one liter of liquor, and the same quota was given to the two alfereces of Alannantik. They drank some and poured off most of the measured shots into the bottles carried by the liquor bearers; then they smoked a cigarette. When they finished this, they raised their banners and entered the plaza on horseback. The bell of the church struck as they entered. About four o'clock, two columns of horsemen formed, one behind the two alfereces of Alannantik and one behind the two alfereces of Ahk'olnantik. One year I observed thirty-eight horsemen from Ahk'olnantik and fifteen from Alannantik. The imbalance in representation for the two sides of the dual division grew sharper each year as the population increased in Ahk'olnantik. Before starting the race, the four alfereces crossed themselves, facing first the church, then the cabildo. As the race began, the mayordomos played the drums and flute in the church yard and the nakawanehetik sat in front of the church wall.

When the racers made four passes across the plaza, they came to drink another trago and smoke two cigarettes in front of the church. At the end of the race, they again drank and smoked the same measured quantities as the pat?o?tan was recited by the leader of the races.

On Sk'ak'halel Sk'in, *the same procedures occurred as on the previous day. The final act of the fiesta took place when, after the races, the alfereces dismounted and the nakawanehetik went to them and drank one liter of liquor before the leader of the races. The two most recently appointed alfereces entered the cabildo, where the banners were laid out on the table among orange and lemon leaves. The president, síndico, two judges, and*

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People who fail to conform to the customs of the town are said to lack "reason." This category includes those who do not attend to the advice of their elders. People from outside of town who do not behave in conventional patterns are said to be "of another sort."

Institutionalized patterns of behavior differ as to the degree of explicitness of the association between action and reason. Curing practices are most directly attached to an understanding of why they are performed. Ritual practices in the cult of the spirits are tied to a more general explanatory system in which something should be done "because it was the custom of our ancestors."

Competency. Judgments concerning the intelligence of a person and his ability to adjust to his social and physical environment complement the criteria of morality and reasonableness. Alertness, or intelligence is associated with the possession of more than one soul: a person may have from one to a dozen additional souls. Curers and witches, by virtue of their possession of an animal spirit, are by definition very intelligent. Evaluations of alertness are often made in discussing the personalities of others. In the myth concerning the three brothers and the honey (Chapter 8) God, the Elder Brother, was described as "not very bright," Jesus Christ, the Second Brother, as "a little brighter," and the Holy Ghost, the Youngest Brother as "the brightest." Alertness is usually associated with manipulation for one's own advantage, but is not necessarily antithetical to having a good heart. In the myth mentioned above, the youngest brother outwits his two older brothers to his own advantage, and coincidentally that of the world.

The word *b'ol* is used figuratively to express the opposite of alertness, stupidity. Literally it means one who is mute; the connection is significant. A child born mute is said to have had its soul stolen at birth so that he must exist without speech. The power of speech is highly valued and the prestigeful roles are accorded to those who can speak well in both formal and informal exchanges. It is a dangerous skill, since the ability to talk to the gods gives an advantage to the speaker over the general population. The ability to speak to the earth, a talent which people say the ancestors possessed and which curers in the neighboring town of Chamula still

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APPENDIX I—*continued*

	QUESTION	INFORMANT 3 GENERAL DESCRIPTION	INFORMANT 2 CASE: ENTRY OF FIRST JUDGE	OBSERVATION CASE: JANUARY 1, 1965
*62 124 796 624	13. What time does he begin to raise the officials?		He gets up early about 6 A.M.	
	14. How does the fourth regidor raise the other officials?	First he goes to get the third regidor. Then they go to the second. The three go to collect the first. After all are together, the four go to the house of the first judge	The fourth regidor goes to the house of the third regidor. They leave and go to the house of the second regidor, then to the house of the first regidor. Then they go to the síndico's house. Leave and go to the house of the judge	
*62 124 796 693	15. How do the judges join together?	First the two assistant judges call on the second judge. Then the three go to the house of the first judge	The assistant judge for Ahk'olnantik goes to raise assistant for Alapnantik. The two go to the house of the second judge. Then they go to the house of the first judge	I arrived at 9:30 at the house of the first alcalde. Present were the following (see Chart 3)
[273]	16. What do the judges do in the house of the first judge?	They drink liquor. They await the arrival of the four regidores	They drink liquor	Before serving liquor the first judge gave the benediction for the liquor *(paʔotʼan yič smahtanil)* with the first *nakawane*. His godchild *ahijado shalal nupune*, of marriage, and his brother-in-law, Lucian Kut poured liquor. He served cigarettes. Two liters of liquor were drunk here before going to house of president
[292] [576]	17. What do they do then?	They go to the house of the president (see Chart 4)	Go to the house of the president	Assembled company prepared to leave at 10:10. The first judge puts on his plain red kerchief. The assistant judges put on flowered red kerchiefs. First judge said goodbye to the *nakawane*. This formal adieu, thê *spat lokʼyoʔtʼan*. Regidores stood up and came out. Then the assistant judge arrived at the house of President 10:30. (Chart 6)
*62 124 796 693 576	18. What do they do when they enter the house of the president?	The first judge gives the *spat yoʔtʼan* with the first nakawane	The first regidor gives the *paʔotʼan*	First judge speaks with *meʔil kʼop* who stood at door of inner room. The *nakawanchetik* bowed and kissed hands with the first and second alcaldes
[528] [539]	19. How do they give the *spat yoʔtʼamik* at his house the president?	They sing what they will do for the year	Holy evening, mamtat, your health. God how does He see you, mamtat. You are alive speak God holy evening. Behind your heart no illness I hear this holy evening.	(See Chart 6 for seating at house of president)

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(Judge) I live. There is no illness. Lord mamtat give pardon with God with the Virgin Mother (*Tios sok Halal me?tik*). Enter holy pardon lord, give pardon Virgin Mother

Here we are gathered before you where is seated "our soil our mud" (our bodies). What are we going to do to make arrive to fall to happen holy New Year our patron of heaven (*kuh-waltik*)-God. Here in a little dawns the holy hour. Let us go look before our heart where we are going to receive the holy oath inside of the holy cold house the cold hall where we go to receive our suffering our work holy staff, holy wand. It is going to change, holy day, holy year. Thus we do as did in the past our mother our father

20. What do they do after the greeting?

They drink coffee

They drink coffee

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At 10:45 served bread set on bowl of coffee and bean tortilla in a cloth wrapping. First served *nakawnehetik* then president, then first and second judge, then first and second regidor, then assistant judge, then visitors. At 10:55 *nakawne* got up and stood before first judge and spoke the *spalan mat* (account of the gruel). Then the first judge spoke the *spalan mat* to second judge. The first two regidores of the past year came in to ask if the new officials were now ready "to raise the change" (*K'a?a?alhel yak helel*). They said *pat'ot'an* before the *nakawne*. Then bowed and kissed hand (*kue' tbale*) with all men in left interior. Went to door and spoke with *me'il k'ap, kue' tbale* with her.

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At 11:15 *Halnaletik* took out the table, laid embroidered cloth on it, put 3 liters of trago and 2 quarts of beer. The first *nakawne* did the *spalanbe mahtan me'il Dios* with the first judge standing before him. Then the first

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621 124 796 [798]	26. What do they do in the townhall?	They take the oath		
	27. How is the townhall arranged?	The four holy crosses brought by the alfereces and the holy staffs are on the *tatik* table		On the table were 4 banners, new staffs, key of cabildo laid on orange leaves sprinkled about on table.
	28. Who is in the townhall?	There are gathered the old officials *(mamal k'a hu?electik)* and the two principales *(mamal krinpaletik)* and the four alfereces *(alperesl)*. (See Chart 7)	It is the old officials	(See Chart 8)
	29. What are the old officials doing?	They are seated conversing		
621 124 796 64 [782]	30. How do they take the oath?	They take from the *tatik* table what they give the oath for—the four holy crosses and the four staffs.	Standing, the new officials call the name of God. They form a line before the banners	New president ordered new officials to form a circle around table. Then the marmoreys prayed holding rosary in hand
[273]	31. Who passes the staffs *(sbaratik me?tiktatik)*?	One principal passes it to the other who gives it to the hand of all the officials	One principal passes it to the other who gives it to the hand of all the officials. They encircle hand with rosary and take their staff	Two principales handed out staffs first to president, then first judge, second judge, assistant judge, regidores and police. The second principal was very drunk and had to be directed by former president
621 124 796 641 875 539	32. Who gave the oath?		The secretary	The schoolteacher
	32a. What does the schoolteacher say when he gives the oath?			Gentlemen, by the will of the pueblo, the government of the state leaves us in charge of the officers before us. The president is in charge of the pueblo during the three years from this one on, 1965, -66, -67. This pueblo has the obligation of helping him in the organization of all his works. It has the obligation of respecting his command, and the authorities that are going to work with him also have the obligation of respecting him because he is the first authority. All of us who belong to the pueblo and all the societies have the obligation of respecting him just as the assistant authorities fulfill his orders because he is the primary authority. Raise the right hand, repeat after me: In the name of the government of the state with the honor that characterizes them I swear to fulfill with honor

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APPENDIX 1—*continued*

	QUESTION	INFORMANT 3 GENERAL DESCRIPTION	INFORMANT 2 CASE: ENTRY OF FIRST JUDGE	OBSERVATION CASE: JANUARY 1, 1965
#621 124 796 641 [875] [539]	33. How did new officials respond to oath?			and enthusiasm what the constitution commands us. I want in this moment, under the oath, to designate the position of municipal president of the pueblo Officials raised hands with rosary in it. Then they put rosary on their necks
#621 124 796	34. What do they do after the oath?		Pass over the papers with the acts, with all the things	Take inventory of communal possessions—3 chairs in bad estate, 2 *codigo viejo*, etc.
	35. Who takes inventory?			The past president
#621 124 796 [533] [788]	36. What do they do after they take their staffs the new officials?	The four alferezes go out with their banners	The alferezes go out in a procession with the banners	First alferez came to table, crossed himself, kissed banner with kerchief bound on handle, unfurled banner. He followed with second, third, and fourth alferezes. Flute and drum began as alferezes came out. They turned and faced the townhall. Inclining banners the police went out; knelt, crossed selves at door. Then the regidores, then president, then síndico and judges
#621 124 796 788	37. What time did the procession begin?			1705
	38. What did the procession look like?	(Chart 9)		(Chart 10)
	39. How many turns do they take?		They take two turns where the fruit is sold (reference to plaza during a ceremony)	Two turns (started behind school house but old *nakawane* redirected them)
	40. What did the alferezes do?			At door of the townhall, drew up horses facing it, dipped banners. Same at church
	41. Where does the procession go?	To the church	They go to the church	They enter the church
#621 124 796 [624]	42. Who remains at the townhall?		The officials come out, leaving all the townhall silent except for the two principales who will await the new officials	The two principales remain within
[782] [794]	43. What do they do in the church?	All the officials speak to God (Chart 11)	They speak to God. They kiss all the saints	They pray at the altar, then kiss the saints as they leave. The alferezes leave their banners in the church

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#62 124 796	44. Where do the old officials go?	To the house of the old president or to the house of the former first judge		
	45. What do they do there?	They go to say goodbye		
	46. What do their hearts say?	Their hearts are very sad		
	47. Why do they kiss all the people present?		Because they want a miracle in order that there be no illness to pass in office	
#62 124 794 796	48. Who is in the church?	The mayordomos are in the church		The mayordomos sit at the bench in back of the church
	49. What are the mayordomos doing?	They are seated at the door of the church. They watch the new officials enter the church		
	50. Why are they seated in the church?	In order to know who will be the new officials to see *(ya ʔil)* in the townhall		
#62 124 796	51. Where do the new officials go when they come out of the church?	The new police enter inside the kitchen (Chart 12). The president enters inside the townhall	Leave church and pass to the townhall	The police go to the kitchen attached to the townhall and the rest of the officials go into the townhall
[529] [693]	52. What does the president say to the two principales inside the oshildo?	"Where are you, *Mamal principal?*"	First judge gives *patbeyoʔtʼan* with the two principales. "Good day, tat. How does God see you, tat. Now you have taken your heart, has spoken your heart. Now you have been before the face of the motherfather. Where you take the holy oath inside the holy cold house, holy cold abode. You saw the procession in the plaza before the temple and inside the holy mother church for the commander lord. There is no fear, no embarrassment. That is all. Go rest your heart	[I was not present for these sessions]
	53. What does the principal reply?	"Enter, Mr. new president *(mamal ʔaʦʼ presirente)* and enter, Mr. New judges *(ʔinamal ʔaʦʼ alkaletik)*"		
#62 124	54. What do they do then?	They sit a little each in his own chair	They sit down. They begin to drink liquor	
293 796 693	55. What do they do after they have rested their heart a little?	The first judge and the president order the fourth regidor to go get a liter of trago		
	56. For whom do they get the liter of the gift?	For the new officials		
	57. What do they do with the gift when the regidor arrives?	They put it in the middle *(ta yolil komun)*		

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APPENDIX 1—*continued*

	QUESTION	INFORMANT 3 GENERAL DESCRIPTION	INFORMANT 2 CASE: ENTRY OF FIRST JUDGE	OBSERVATION CASE: JANUARY 1, 1965
621 124 796 539 693 273	58. What do the principales say to the first judge in the cabildo on the New Year?	They give the *spatbeyo?t'an*		
	59. What does the judge say when he gives the gift to the principales?	"Give pardon, mamal *krinpal*. Let a little enter to give warmth to your body"		
	60. What do the principales say?	"Thank you, *two mamal alkal, mamal presirente, mamal tinti̱ku*"		
	61. What does the judge say?	"Pardon and let a little drink warm your body"		
	62. What does the judge say to the regidor?	"Lend me your hand, *mamal rehirol skanebal* (second regidor). Look, pour the gift of the ancestors (*me?tiktatik*) for the *mamal krinpaletik*"		
	63. What does the fourth regidor say as he pours the gift for the principal?	"With your permission, *mamal krinpal, mamal ?alkaletik*, I look and give the gift"		
621 124 796 693 273	64. Who drinks first on New Year in the townhall?	The two principales		
	65. Second?	President		
	66. Third?	Síndico		
	67. Fourth?	First judge		
	68. Fifth?	Second judge		
	69. Sixth?	Third judge		
	70. Seventh?	Fourth judge		
	71. Eighth?	First regidor		
	72. Ninth?	Second regidor		
	73. Tenth?	Third regidor		
	74. Eleventh?	Fourth regidor		
	75. What do they do after the first round of drinks?	They continue drinking until they get a little drunk		
	76. What happens at noon?	They close the doors of the townhall		
	77. What do the police do in the kitchen?	They enter and sit on a bench		
	78. Where do they sit?	(Chart 11)		
	79. What is the first order that he gives the first new police?	He sends the fourth police to bring a little liquor		
	80. What do they do when the fourth returns?	He orders a police of the colonia to "measure" the liquor		

794 796	19. Where do they drink it?	Behind the church	In the house of the *?ali?bal*
124	20. Where do the old mayordomos eat the common meal?	In the church	In the house of the *?ali?bal*
[273]	21. What do they eat?	Male turkey *(mam koz)*. Beef soup with tortillas and chile	
[264] [262]	22. How do they prepare turkey?	With chile, *yerba buena* and salt	
[263] [252]	23. Who prepares the meal for the fiesta of San Pedro and San Pablo?	The *?ali?bal*. The wife of the *Biktal* (minor) mayordomo of San Pedro and San Pablo	
	24. What do they do after the common meal?	They go to their homes	They go home
	25. What do they call the second day of the fiesta?	Wisperei?s	
	26. What do the old mayordomos do first?	They make a fiesta. They beat the drums. They play the flute. They drink trago	They ring the bells three times. The people gather in the church
	27. What time do they begin the fiesta?	Early	At 7 o'clock
	28. What do they do in the church?		The padre gives a Mass for San Pedro and San Pablo
	29. Who collects for the Mass?		The old officials and the new officials and the women
[533]	30. Where do the mayordomos blow the flute and beat the drum?	At the door of the church	In front of the church
	31. Where do the new mayordomos gather first?	At the house of the kobraria Santa Lucia	At the house of the kobraria of Santa Lucia
	32. What do they do first?	They take out the mouthwash	They serve the mouthwash
[273]	33. What do they do then?	They take out a liter to drink	They serve coffee and corn gruel. Then they serve liquor
[272] [262] [273]	34. How much do the new mayordomos drink?	Two drinks each	After two rounds are served, drink is served to the mayordomos who go to the [illegible] and offer their drinks. This is done so that the new officials will not be drunk in church
	35. How many of the new mayordomos don't drink liquor?	Three	
[272]	36. What do they drink?	Cold water (soda)	
124 794 796 539	37. What does the kobraria of Santa Lucia say to the kobraria of San Pedro Martyr at his house when they begin to drink?	Good day, Mamal Tat. Thank you. How do you look, Mamal. Thanks you are alive, his word God, at daybreak. We want to see no illness at daybreak. What we will do what we have done. We have to say what our heart says, our soil, our mud. So it is as we did in the past. We are all together as are the old officials where we hear and see with our eyes. Where are we on the very day of his fiesta our saint and our Judge Sanpegro sanpablu? So it is that we	

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APPENDIX 2—*continued*

QUESTION	INFORMANT 3	OBSERVATION
	are here and that we are united in front of the house. Pardon us, it is not much, *me'el tatel*. Where we are gathered together there is nothing flavorful nor is there much. It is only a little to warm your body, of the water to wash his body his hand our old saint San Pedro and San Pablo. God thank mother and father *(me'a ta tat'a)* mam kobreria	
38. What does the kobreria of Santa Lucia say to the Tzeltal-Chilpetec Mayordomos when they all go out?	What are we thinking? How shall we rise to enter the house of kobreria Sakramentu? How is it he wants us not to drink? It is good we would not remember. It is enough. If you will remember you will say little, mayordomos. Are we not ready with our rosaries, with our kerchiefs, for candles? Is there anything you want to say?	
39. What does the kobreria of San Pedro Martyr say?	It is good, I am going to say. Now I am going to say to all if you are ready with your rosary with your cloth to take the holy candles	The *mayordomos* put on their rosaries and red kerchiefs
40. What do the mayordomos reply?	Yes, good, we are ready thank you. It is only this more I say to you	
41. What does the kobreria say then?	Do not drink much tragu. I do not want you to walk like a mad man *(tuk 'alel likkal)*. I do not want you to say the kobreria said nothing	
42. What do the mayordomos reply?	Yes, thanks. It is good. Let us go now. Let us rise our mud our soil	
43. Where do they go then?	To the house of the kobreria of Sacramento	To the house of the kobreria of Sacramento
44. What do they say there?	"Good day *mamal*," each one	Good day, *mamal ae*
45. What time do they go to the house of the kobreria of Sacramento?	At 8 o'clock	9 A.M.
46. In what order do they speak to the people at his house the kobreria of Sacramento?		First to the two *Ajkinels*. Then to the third *sok'omane*. Then to the second *sok'omane*. Then to the first *sok'omane*
47. What do they say after the *sok'omal*?		The kobreria of *Halal me'tsik* gives the *spat yo'i'on* with the first *sok'omane*
48. What (does he say) after *spat yo'i'on*?		He goes to give account to the old woman who nursed us *(me'l'ak'anel)* who is the *me'il k'op* in the house

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49. Who is the woman speaker?

She is the first elder sister of the mother of the mam kobraria. She has the same mother and father as the father the mam kobraria

50. Who are the women inside the house of the kobraria of Sacramento?

Two or three sisters of the kobraria

51. What do his sisters (*yermanotak*) do inside his house?

They sit on the bench on the porch

52. What do the mayordomos do after the account with the *me?ĕ?ukalaletik*?

They sit on the bench on the porch

53. What does the *nakawane* do?

He tells the *balnial* to take out the mouthwash

54. What do they give after the mouthwash?

First the coffee with the bean tortillas

55. What do they give after the coffee?

They give another mouthwash

56. What do the *balnialetik* do after the mouthwash?

They take out the table with the cloth

[273] 57. What do they do then?

They take out 2 or 3 liters of trago with the measure and a little cold water

58. Who orders the women inside?

Me?ĕ?ukalal

59. What do they do before they begin to drink?

The kobraria of the Virgin of Santa Lucia gives the *tpathe yo?tan*
He rises to ask permision before the *me?ĕ?ukalaletik*, all the mayordomos and all the *balnialetik*

[539] 60. What does the kobraria of the Virgin of Santa Lucia say then?

God, mother who nurses us, give permission to us. The water of his body the water of his hand, the gift will pass in your body that which is the mothers' fathers' (*me?tiktatik*). God speaks, *tat nakawanchetik* and *balnialetik*. Give us permission to hand the gift that will pass in your body from the *me?tiktatik*. God, Jesus, Mary, only one commander god is three persons. Bless what we eat and what we drink and bless in the name of god the father. God take the gift, *me?ei tatel*

61. What do they do then?

The mayordomos, *balnialetik* and *nakawanetik* measure their noses.

62. What does the *me?ĕ?ukalal* say?

God thank Mamal Tat

63. Then what does the kobraria of the Virgin Santa Lucia say?

He gives the benediction to the liquor

[539] 64. What is the benediction?

In God's name, God father, name of God, God son, Holy spirit. Yes, I can endure to do what they did, that which the mother, which the father

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APPENDIX 2—*continued*

	QUESTION	INFORMANT 3	OBSERVATION
794 796 124 [539] [213]			did with the hand which has sinned, the feet which have sinned. Yes, I am changing holy day holy year, holy saint holy oath and the name of the god the father
	65. How much do the mayordomos drink?		They drink four measures. After four measures they do not finish and give the rest to *mamal nakawanchenk*
	66. Why do they do this?		Because it is said they may get drunk at the hour to go to church
	67. What time do they go to the church?	At 10 o'clock	At 11 left for church. Put on red kerchiefs, rosaries
[539]	68. What does the *nakawanel* say to the new mayordomos as they leave to go to church?		May you all get up and go to the church. May you all enter inside the church. May you take the oath inside the church before the face of the fiscal. After you take the oath you measure the nose in the face of the *tatik* Jesus Christ. After you have measured the noses, when you enter inside the door of the church the mamal new kobraria speaks the *palanhchik* to the mamal old kobraria
	69. Who is at the church?	The old mayordomos	The old mayordomos are seated at the door of the church
[523]	70. What are they doing?	They are awaiting the new mayordomos	They play the drum and the flute
	71. How do they take the *kuramentu* (oath)?		They enter and kneel each pair, *tatil* and *nit'anil* in front of *tatik* Jesus Christ.
	72. How do they stand?		(Chart 15)
	73. How is the church arranged?		There is a large table with the candles lined up. In the middle of the table stands a little holy Jesus hung on the cross
	74. Who is inside the church?		The priest, the fiscal, the old mayordomos
	75. What does the priest do?		He gives the Mass. He blesses the new and the old mayordomos
	76. What do they do after the blessing?		The fiscal gives the candles wrapped in a napkin
	77. How many candles does he give to each mayordomo?		Nine candles
	78. What are the candles for?		To light for the saints
	79. What does he do with the candles?		Goes and puts them in the elder officeholder's house. Returns and gets his own to bring to his house
	80. Where do they go after the oath?		To the house of the kobraria of [illegible]